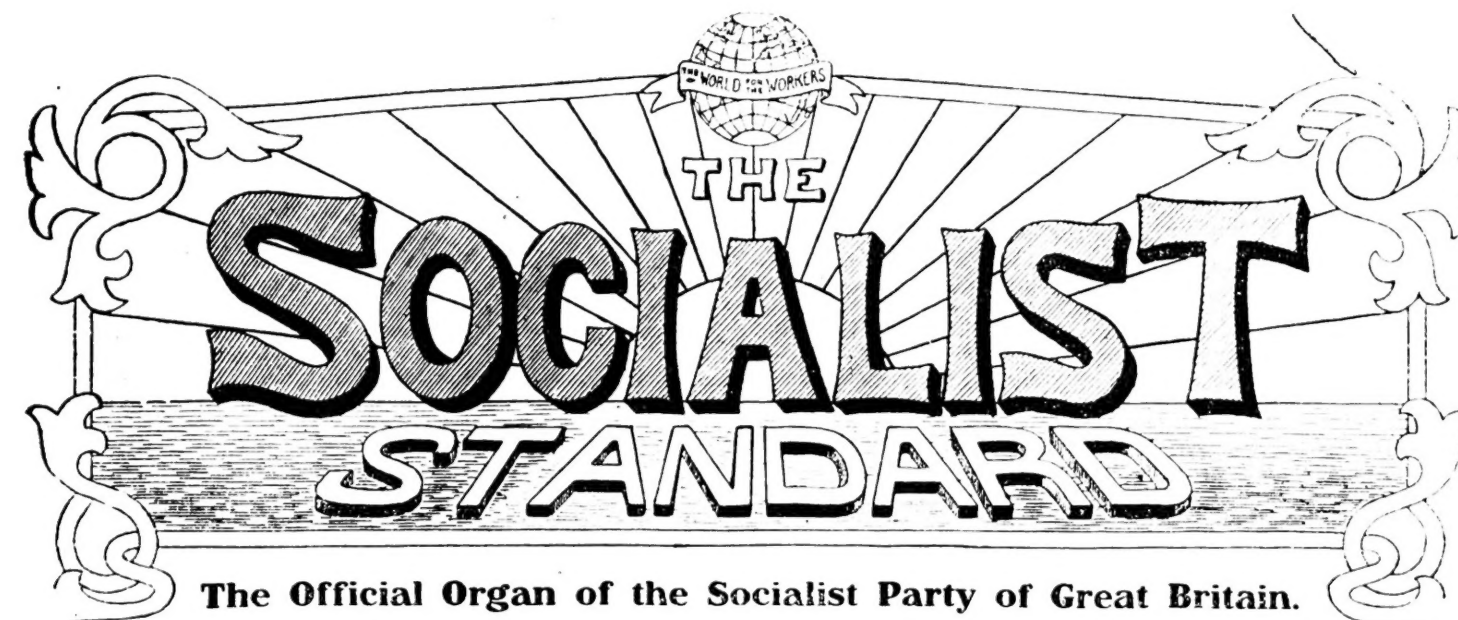


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THE PACE THAT KILLS. THE MODERN STREET TRAFFIC PROBLEM DISCUSSED.

"HURRY on, please!" is the catch phrase of the day. It expresses the salient characteristic—**with or without the plesse** of every modern industrial centre, just as "Get on or get out!" sums up its brutal philosophy. In the roaring traffic of the highway, indeed, we have a vivid yet typical example of the headlong rush of this "non-stop" age.

Take modern road traffic, then, as a case in point. It illustrates the rapid yet enormous changes forced upon society by economic development, and it shows unmistakably how little the hireling worker profits by the wonderful mechanical progress his physical and mental labour has made possible.

The ubiquitous motor has made the dweller in the most distant hamlet familiar with its dust and dangers, but in London's streets the "motor peril" now reaches its apotheosis. Truly the motor is everywhere, but on the crowded roads of the metropolis its presence and speed have raised a problem for which the multitudinora highway authorities seek in vain a solution.

The streets are turned into slaughter yards, and it is no crime in the eyes of those who administer the law, for the motorist to slay the harmless passer-by. It is by far the cheapest form of murder, for it is scarcely too strong a statement to say that the motorist has practically been granted the right to slaughter any who dare to cross his path.

At inquests the motorist is almost always exonerated from blame—particularly if it is pointed out that he was sober. And even in those rare cases where this does not happen the penalty is a puerile censure, or a punishment ludicrously disproportionate to that which is inflicted when the murder is done other than with the aid of a motor.

Above all the conflicting and hysterical statements anent the modern highways problem one thing is clear: that high speed is the chief bugbear. "It's the pace that kills." *Exceeding the speed that is safe in the particular circumstances* is the cause of most of the maiming and slaughter. Indeed, the law, as though it is, nominally establishes a speed limit. Yet motorists habitually exceed that limit. In fact, travelling at the legal limit is stigmatised as a "mere crawl." Moreover, it is not for the safety of the public that the corners are rounded and roads widened and straightened, but simply to allow greater speeds to be attained—with the inevitable consequence of a longer casualty list.

It is, further, an understood thing that the police never prosecute for exceeding the speed limit unless it is exceeded by over five miles, and very rarely even then. The car owner's most

frequent boast is of the speed at which his motor travels, and the rare fine is regarded as a certificate to the quality of his engine, and is a tribute to his childish vanity.

Despite the fact that most of those killed and maimed on the highways would still be safe and sound if a rational speed in the circumstances had been adhered to, representatives of motor associations fatuously assert that not high, but "low" speeds, are the concomitants of accident! And as though to support this risible doctrine, almost every motorist in the courts, contemptuous of the law relating to perjury, states his speed to have been at the time of the smash, between five and twelve miles an hour! That is the homage that vice pays to virtue!

Motoring magistrates are ever ready to condone the recklessness of the motorist, and sometimes even lecture pedestrians and cyclists on the nuisance and danger their existence on the road presents to the man behind the "petrol gun"! They reserve the vials of their wrath, however, for the urchin on a bicycle, whose crime was in enjoying an innocent "coast" down an incline at little more than half the legal speed limit for motors!

To such a pass have things come that the attitude of the average motorist is practically that the roads are his property, and that all others are trespassers, to be hooted off. "Get off the earth or I'll push you off!" is the sentiment expressed in the imperious howl of the motor syren.

Besides being the capitalist's instrument of profit, the motor is now his chief toy—or at least it runs his "blonde" or his "brune" very close for pride of place in that connection—and to the arrogance engendered by the possession of the most powerful and speedy thing on the road is added the arrogance of wealth and class. The result is a growing contempt and intolerance on the part of the motorist toward the weaker users of the road, mitigated only faintly by spasmodic reprisals and agitations on the part of the latter.

But why go on? It is neither necessary nor advisable to recount at length the manifold abuses of the motor vehicle—the simplest statement of fact suffices.

Yet the petrol engine is a marvellously efficient instrument, and in its further development its possibilities are great for humanity. The simple question to be emphasised then arises—why should an undoubted mechanical advance spell greater discomfort, toil, and danger to the workers?

It would be quixotic, or worse, to attempt to stop the development of motor traffic, and it would be equally futile to drag the red herring of the individual "reckless driver" and the exceptional "road hog" across the trail. The

trouble has deeper roots. The chauffeur, for example, must obey his master or be supplanted by a more obedient servant. The taxi-driver must keep up the earnings of his cab or lose his livelihood. The employee of the motor-bus trust must keep carefully to his schedule times and maintain the earnings of his vehicle—indeed, his wage depends on the number of miles he can run. Thus it is that other road users suffer who are too weak to cope with the powerful motor.

Among the weakest of road users is the cyclist, and it so happens that the cycle is, above all others, the workers' vehicle; and those who employ it as the means of getting to and from their daily toil, know full well how the danger grows. But the bus driver, held by the trust to an inelastic time table, with his livelihood endangered if the takings of his vehicle and its daily mileage fall, is economically compelled to make unscrupulous use of the power his motor gives him, to the detriment of others. Self-preservation makes him regard the slowly moving cyclist and pedestrian as obstacles to his livelihood, hindrances to the keeping of his time schedule, impediments to his speed in getting first to paying points on the route.

The type of mind engendered by such an economic position may be gauged from the complaint of a motor bus-driver, at a South London inquest on a victim, with regard to cyclists, that "he frequently had to give way to them."

Not always, evidently. Indeed, when pedestrian or cyclist is killed, well, "accidents will happen," and there is an obstacle the less on the road, while after all, coroners are indulgent. If a cyclist is scared off, he becomes a passenger the more for the bus, and another source of profit for the trust—a trust which, by the way, has the sublime effrontery to pose, in an official letter to the Press, as jealous of its "reputation as the guardian of the public safety." Gordelpus!

Of course, if every human being killed or injured by their agency was made to cause such a heavy monetary loss to the transport companies that it outweighed the profitability of high speed and reckless driving, then the massacre would cease. But is anyone so simple as to believe this will be done? Can thugs be relied upon to prohibit murder?

It is motor owners who legislate. What avails human life when put into the scales against dividends?

Indeed, the attempt to make human life of more account than profits would be howled down as a dastardly, senseless, revolutionary attack upon the sacred rights of property.

No. Whatever "reforms" may be inaugurated will not diminish, but may increase, profits. A limitation of further bus licences is

already semi-officially foreshadowed, and worked for. This would mean the granting of a permanent monopoly against the public to the existing trust, and the exclusion of fresh competition, without any guarantee for public safety or convenience.

But is this question of the killing and maiming by motors the only one, or even the most important? Obviously it is not; and it is only dealt with here because it is but a symptom. It is true that nearly 150 persons have been killed outright by the motor-bus trust in the metropolitan area alone during the past year. That is terrible enough; but have not equal numbers of workers been sacrificed at one fell swoop in preventable colliery disasters—not this year alone, but every year? And should we have heard so much about the motor-bus slaughter had it not suited the purpose of a set of office-hunters to make political capital out of it on behalf of that cheerless piece of humbug, "the people's tram"?

There is, however, no need to belittle in any way the facts relating to the motor peril. They are appalling. But the rest is more terrible still. The one is but the manifestation of the greater evil, for the sinister result of modern traffic conditions has a deeper meaning than is realised or expressed by commentators in the Press. It signifies the growing pace and intensity of industrial life, the universal acceleration of production, and the decreasing value of the life of the worker when put in the balance against the pleasure or profit of the class that owns the country. The huge and increasing size of industrial centres, and the greater distances between the workers' home and the factory, the need for more quickly transferring labour, the greed of the rack-renter of the central districts, the knowledge that the workers' "time is money" to the capitalist, the rush for profits of a transport trust, and the all-pervading atmosphere of hustle, recklessness, and speed that is engendered by capitalist greed and the ever-increasing, world-wide competition—all these are symptoms of the deep-lying social malady.

It is not very long ago that miners were entombed in a burning mine by bricking up the mouth of the pit in order to save the property! No! the sacrifice of human life on the road is not an isolated phenomenon. The drowning of seamen for the sake of a few extra tons of cargo consequent on the raising of the load-line by a Liberal Board of Trade; the killing and maiming of an enormous and increasing number of workers in mine and factory for the sake of extra output and extra profit; and the toll of life taken on the highways for the sake of the profit or pleasure of accelerated transport, are all phases of the same fact. Men are the slaves of the machines they have created.

Modern machines, in their marvellous precision, complexity, and swiftness, bring with them the possibility, the material groundwork, of greater leisure, and the provision of the good things of life in ever-increasing abundance. Yet the only reward of those who toil is more intense labour, a less secure position, greater hardships and dangers, and a shortened life. Out of good cometh evil? Why? Because those who work are hirelings, while those who toil not own. The machine supplants the hireling, makes him redundant, and starves him instead of feeding him. The new machines and higher speeds only increase the wealth of the parasitic owner, enabling him to discharge more wage-labourers, reduce wages, and intensify toil. Thus it is that instruments capable of dispensing wealth and leisure to all, impoverish and overwork the many. Thus it is that the triumphant advance of technology has only carried our class on to ever more painful labours. We are victims of the machine only because we are the hirelings of the class that owns it. The evolution of industry leads us on, and we struggle painfully to adapt ourselves to its steps. Hitherto the workers have neglected the one needful step—the democratic ownership and control of all industrial machinery.

Speed and concentration are the order of the day. But the London transport trust, while it provides the example of the disease, hints at the only remedy. Industry after industry has developed to the trust stage, and has shown us plainly that since those who produce now run the machinery and organise industry—for ab-

sentee shareholders—they are demonstrably capable of running production for themselves! Surely the time when they will do so is near at hand! The need, the possibility, and the economic foundation of Socialism are manifestly present.

Industrial advance places the means of socialised production within the workers' reach, and their daily trials and difficulties must open their eyes to the supreme need of realising that possibility, and of wresting the power to control from those who now usurp it. Then they will resume control of their means of life, becoming the masters of the tool of production instead of remaining enslaved; and will for the first time be able to utilise technical progress humanely and intelligently, to provide more leisure and a complete life for all.

But so long as class ownership remains, for just so long will the long list of killed and maimed continue to grow, and all remediable measures fail to keep pace with the break-neck speeding-up of our daily tasks. Already we are becoming inured to the motor murders as to the butchery in other spheres of industry. The sudden development of the road motor "within the memory of a schoolboy" has struck the popular imagination, leaving scarce healed other and more deadly fields. But soon this too will pall, and the great problem as a whole will only press more surely for solution.

Hustle and worry, then, will continue to be the worker's lot; danger, suffering, and want dog his footsteps ever more closely, until, in the fulness of time, the scales shall fall from his eyes and he shall see how frail his fetters are. And when he feels his mighty strength, and at long last sees its obvious use, woe betide the parasites who have battered on his sweat and blood in the long night of his blindness and ignorance!

F. C. W.

SOCIALISM AND "SCIENCE."

SPENCER and Huxley, Tyndal and Lewes, Darwin and Buckle, are names coupled with science in the fighting stage, battling against the learned champions of ignorance, the clergy, and the Church. But Science to-day is in a bad way. She no longer battles for her existence against a militant clergy, but sleeps beneath their caresses. The progressive materialism of an earlier time has gone out of fashion, and our scientists now talk mysteriously and darkly about thought-waves and telepathy, disincarnate souls and such immaterial subjects. Witches and magic, demons and angels, that we had confidently supposed had been laid for ever with the other ghosts of popular superstitions, have cropped up again under the patronage of "scientific" men. The immortality of the soul is said to be established on evidence sufficiently strong to satisfy the scientific mind, and doubtless hell will flare up again, if only to illumine the same "scientific" minds.

The connection between the clergy and the ruling class is too historically obvious to need elaboration; the partnership of the parson and the squire in the government of the country belongs to history. The attack on the clergy by the scientist was simultaneous with the attack on hereditary privilege by the capitalist. The political struggle and the intellectual struggle arose from the same set of economic circumstances. The thing preceded the idea; the actual power achieved by the capitalist class on the economic field had to be accompanied by political recognition and intellectual sanction.

The same movement of economic forces explains the present reaction of science. Capitalism has achieved its mission: it is the predominant power in the State. In the main it has absorbed the aristocracy, its erstwhile enemy. Being at peace with the landlord, it is at peace with the parson.

The capitalist having absorbed the landlord, the Whig and Tory being transformed into the Unionist, the scientist and the theologian have also called a truce. The whole force of united rulers are therefore able to show a single front to the working class pressing upon them. The side-tracks of the patriotic and political order are still useful in some quarters, and the mysticism of the scientist-cum-theologian is equally

useful in others. The possibility of conversing with the spook of a departed friend, or the possible influence of the planets on the individual character, may have as much fascination as a game of whist or a visit to St. James's Hall, but that they are established as ready for the acceptance of "scientific" minds is beyond credulity. They are still useful as will-o'-the-wisps to set the more curious of the workers chasing instead of looking into the things that matter in their own lives. The New Theology and Christian Science, with a hundred and one forms of occultism and mysticism that are fashionable in some quarters point out the trend among our intellectuals.

All this would not matter if it were not that Socialism—the social philosophy of Materialism—is dragged into it by some of its alleged votaries. R. J. Campbell, who, it is confidently asserted, is controlled by the spirit of Jesus Christ, is a member of the I.L.P. Bernard Shaw, who is said to believe in the Yogi Rama seeing with his eyes blindfolded, in spite of a scathing exposure of the performance, is a Fabian. Others might be mentioned who are both pseudo-Socialists and occultists; while the effort of advanced churches to nobble the Socialist movement is a recognised phase of the workers' struggle by the really class-conscious ones among them.

Fortunately, the S.P.G.B. stands clear for Socialism alone. The attractions of the higher life or the call of the spirit leave us Socialists all the time. The bread and butter question is first for us. The struggle for working class supremacy has first to be fought out. Given the success of Socialism, there will be time enough to investigate with a far greater degree of dispassionate and clear-sighted enquiry, the claims of the new science, new theology, theosophy, spiritualism, and what not, to separate the grain of truth there may be in the mass of commercial charlatanism that passes now under the various titles of psychic mysteries.

Socialists at this time of day have no business with Psychical Research, however attractive the "search for truth" may be made by those who have nothing better to occupy their time and minds with. Sufficient economic and social science is incontrovertibly established to enable us to know, even if we did not know by rougher and more empirical methods, that food, shelter, and clothing, the prime necessities of existence, can be had in abundance by all when the cornerstone of capitalism is dislodged and the workers control industry for their own ends. Until this is done nothing else matters.

The education and organisation of the workers for this great purpose is the work of Socialists. No "saviour from on high" will help us. All the "saviours" of the past, and their current representatives, are on the side of the powers that be; and there is no reason for supposing that the future will differ from the past in the part the priesthood, in its widest sense, will play in the social struggle. That science—or rather, the scientists, with some commendable exceptions—are hobnobbing with the mysticists is but another indication of the union of the forces of capitalism in every field, that points to the rapidly approaching time when the consolidated forces of organised class-conscious labour will meet the existing order for the last bout.

Then will be required all the strength of the Socialist demand. The more Socialism is overlaid with excrescences and absurdities the more chance is there for Socialism to suffer. The more simple the Socialist demand is kept the greater is the concentration on the essential point. Against the central citadel of Socialism all the thunder of capitalism's politicians, preachers, and wizards will break in vain.

"EGGNEER."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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THE "WAR" AGAINST POVERTY.

ANYONE who has followed the Press during the last few weeks will have been struck by the reiteration, day after day, of certain articles in bold type, announcing to a more or less interested world, the fact that we are in the midst of a "Great Trade Boom," and that we are also engaged in a great "War Against Poverty."

As is usually the case, the capitalist newspapers have tumbled over each other, as it were, in their efforts to prove to all and sundry what a glorious condition of prosperity the workers are enjoying. They have also been ably assisted in these efforts by journals professing especial sympathy with labour, which is a gratifying feature—to the capitalists.

Among others, Mr. Chiozza Money and the "Daily News" have been at great pains to show what wonderful records have been created, both in imports and exports, with a consequent increase in wages.

This may appear all right to the "man in the street," who doesn't trouble to analyse these statements, but simply reads his daily paper and swallows all that it dishes up.

As a matter of fact, however, during the last fifteen years, wages—that is, real wages—have actually decreased seven per cent. The average income of those "who toil not" during the same period has increased by over four times as much!

According to Mr. Money "the worker is getting a share of the increased product of industry." Maybe! But Mr. Money omits to point out that, relatively to the cost of living, the workers are worse off than they were twenty-five years ago. Instead of the workers being more contented and looking brightly forward to what Mr. Money terms "the good new times," their outlook is blacker and their condition more precarious than ever.

The "Daily Mail" (3.12.12) endeavours to explain the cause of this "boom" in trade. "The growing output of gold," they say, "the increase in credit which has accompanied it, and the advance in production with the help of the modern application of electricity, are probable and practical factors."

Now, if anyone had asked the writer what, in his opinion, was the cause of the increased misery of the workers, a better explanation could hardly have been furnished than that supplied by the "Daily Mail" to explain quite another point. The only difference is the point of view. Whereas the "Daily Mail" seeks to show that the "boom" benefits everybody, this is not really the case. Only the capitalist class is benefited. Gold production has increased enormously during the last half-century, due to improved methods of production. As a consequence of this the value of gold has fallen. Thus gold being cheaper, more of it is required in order to exchange for any given commodity than formerly—assuming, of course, that the value of other commodities remains the same.

This depreciation in the value of gold means high prices, hence a decline in the purchasing power of money. On the other hand, owing to the constant improvement of machinery, with its inevitable resulting army of unemployed, it cannot be said that "booms" in the long run benefit the workers. Cases there are where workers have been put on overtime, and others given jobs, in order to cope with a rush of trade, but trade "booms" are at the best only temporary, and are invariably followed by periods of depression due to over production. Even at the time of writing indications are not wanting that portend an early breakdown. This, of course, will mean a further augmentation of the unemployed army.

The inability of the workers to buy back that which they have produced results in a glut of the market, and we have the spectacle of thousands of men, women, and children going hungry and ill clad, simply through having produced too much! This apparently involves a contradiction, but to the student of social conditions its truth is terribly plain. And this condition, I might point out, is inevitable under a system wherein goods are produced for profit instead of for use.

These are facts that the average social reformer doesn't trouble to enquire very deeply

into. He believes that by pressing for legislation to the capitalist class, who control and administer the political machinery in addition to controlling the machinery of industry, we can gain immunity from the depredations of that class!

All the so-called remedies for the elimination of poverty that are at the present time being shouted all over the country by the "war against poverty" campaigners and others, betray the deplorable fact that even the "leaders" themselves don't know the commonsense principles upon which a working class movement should be based. This is inexcusable in view of the fact that the real solution of the poverty "problem" is as easy to understand as falling off a log. The solution lies in Socialism. This, as a rule, is outside the vocabulary of the average labour leader, who generally has some axe or other to grind.

Let us take a glance at some of their so called remedies.

There are several reform parties in the field, and prominent among them is the I.L.P., with its cry of "War Against Poverty!" They in turn are assisted by the B.S.P., Co-operative Unions, Women's Guilds, and other freak organisations—in fact, anybody and everybody so long as they keep Socialism obscured.

One of the points aimed at is the establishment of a legal Minimum Wage. Will this alleviate poverty in any degree? Let us see.

Money, being a commodity, is subject to the same laws as any other commodity. Its exchange-value varies. As its value increases or decreases its purchasing power is higher or lower as the case may be. Given a legal Minimum Wage of a fixed amount of money, and the continued rise in the cost of living, and in a short time the minimum would represent a greater depth of poverty than unrestricted wages give to-day.

It is true that the reformers at their various meetings have added amendments to the resolutions, calling for a rise in the minimum if the cost of living rose, but one can hardly conceive any government establishing a minimum wage that had to be periodically adjusted to rising or falling prices.

But even if they did, the operation of economic law (as has been shown in the columns of this journal) must inevitably defeat the object of the reform. Substantiation of this comes from Australia, where the establishment of a Minimum Wage has led to the wholesale dismissal of men who are no longer young and active, and has intensified the struggle all round.

The Minimum Wage is a snare and a delusion, intended to lure the working class into supporting the Liberals. It is unscientific and calculated to lead the workers into the bog of false economics.

The B.S.P. are in the same boat as the I.L.P., for they claim that "the legal enactment of a Minimum Wage for all adult workers, a maximum working week, and maximum prices of commodities are proposals advocated by the (then) S.D.P., which clearly indicate the revolutionary nature of their policy." ("Justice," 22.7.11.)

Just how far such a policy is revolutionary may be judged by the statement of Sir George Askwith (known as "the strike-breaker") at a meeting held by Mr. Harold Cox only the other day. "In a comparatively short time," said Sir George, "we might be face to face with the grave consideration of the question of a general minimum wage." So, whether we "demand" it or not, it is quite conceivable that we shall be forced to have it—in the interest of the master class.

Another "demand" is for an Eight Hour Day. This needs very little examination in order to show the "benefits" accruing from it. The speeding up that has resulted from its introduction in such places as Brunner Mond's, Nather & Platt's, and various municipal bodies is well known. Such firms afford fine examples of the hours being reduced without in any way curtailing the output.

Any worker engaged on an eight hours a day job will testify as to who benefits by the restriction of hours. Only recently the hours on the Birmingham Tramway System were reduced from 60 to 54. This has since been nullified to a great extent by "speeding up" the journeys, and the men complain that they are as badly off as before. Cases could be quoted where

hours have been reduced from 10 to 7½, and yet the actual output has been the same.

In 1911 151,056 workers had their working time reduced, yet we find that the total production was greater than in 1910. Clearly an eight hours day will not benefit the mass of the workers.

"Provision for School Children" is another item which provides an example of tinkering with effects without removing the causes. How much better would it not be to endeavour to understand the cause of child misery, and work for its removal, instead of advocating fatuous reforms that have only the effect of blinding the workers with false hopes! In stead of applying salve to the social boil, why not purify the system, and thus eradicate disease?

Children should be well fed, and well clothed too, but it is to be expected that the capitalist class will abolish poverty when such a condition is absolutely inseparable for their position of social dominance.

When the workers can be got to recognise that the cause of all poverty and social misery is the control by one class over the means of life of the other, the end of poverty will be in sight. Poverty has no need to exist, but until the working man ceases to vote his master into political power, so long will it continue.

Any of the reforms enumerated above can be applied without in the least effecting any permanent improvement in the lot of the workers. They are essentially capitalistic, and as such should be emphatically denounced by the Socialist, who sees in Socialism the only remedy.

The opportunities for studying Socialism are open to everybody, and when we find so called labour leaders heading in a different direction, we are forced to the conclusion that it is against their interest to abolish capitalism. Indeed, they aim only at propitiating it, for they claim that they wish to get "the best" out of the system. We have continued to point this out, and experience has verified our judgment. Such a policy has no place in the propaganda of a Socialist party. The issue—freedom or slavery—is too clear for that.

Both the B.S.P. and the I.L.P. believe and teach that capital would exist under Socialism, and also that wages would be paid and that government would continue. No wonder the "rank and file" are politically blind, when they are taught to believe that the conditions essential for the introduction of Socialism are identical with those necessary to capitalism.

The stringing of the path with these red herrings, fouling the trail, as it were, of Socialist propaganda, renders the work of the Socialist more difficult, but whilst it may, in a small sense, retard the ultimate realisation of Socialism, it cannot expunge its principles or prevent its final triumph.

There is only one party that is engaged in a real war against poverty—that party is the Socialist Party. Being a Socialist Party, all our efforts are logically centred upon Socialism. It is to the interest of the workers to rally under its flag, and help to speed the day when we shall have gained the right to live, when those who create the wealth shall enjoy it, when every man, woman, and child shall have the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent their human powers, and thus, for the first time since the dawn of history, realise the true meaning of life.

TOM SALA.

TRUTH OR LIE?

On a previous occasion the men on the North Eastern Railway kicked over the traces. They were induced to return to work on the masters' terms against their own wishes, through the negotiations of their leaders. They protested they had been sold. We said in the columns of the Socialist STANDARD that they had been sold, and were sued for libel in consequence.

On this occasion the men of the N.E.R. are induced to return to work after being fined for the days off they have had without leave. This time the "Daily Herald" says they have been sold, and adds "as usual." Will there be another libel action, or is the "Daily Herald" not taken as seriously as the Socialist STANDARD?

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

as a bogey wherewith to frighten the "prosperous citizen."

These donations are regarded by the pannik bourgeoisie as being in the nature of "good investments." It is the modern obedience to the ancient injunction to "cast thy bread upon the waters." For the well to do are told by the bishops and the smaller fry of the Church, what is the undoubted truth, viz., that "the East End would not take things so quietly were it not for religion," and that these institutions are a "strong barrier" against the "Godless Socialism" they so much dread.

The lot of the artisan and the labourer is no better to-day than it was ten or twenty years ago. In the words of Mr. Bonar Law: "In spite of a vast increase in the wealth of the world and of the United Kingdom, the condition of the workmen in this country has not improved. It has grown worse." (Glasgow, 22.5.12.)

From all sides we get the admission, not only that "wages have not increased at all between 1900-1910, but that, indeed, they have suffered a depression in the interval." ("Daily News.") The "Daily News," which represents the view of the party in power, tells us in a leading article (17.9.12) that, despite the glories of Free Trade, they are forced to "arrive at the disquieting fact that the net result to labour of an industrial prosperity which is unexampled is that the working-classes are substantially worse off than they were in 1900."

This significant conclusion arrived at by such defenders of capitalism as Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lloyd George, the "Daily News," and other prominent people and leading papers too numerous to mention, does not take into consideration an all-important condition that must be taken into account. That is that during the period mentioned, those who have been engaged in actual production have had their labour vastly intensified. Year by year new machinery has been introduced to compete with and speed up the labourer. Year by year new methods are taken up with the object of eliminating those rapidly diminishing moments of rest which the workers are able to snatch from their toil. Day by day the machine is driven faster, and the result has been that a gigantic amount of energy is sucked out of the worker in a shorter working day.

Even such a defender of "reformed" capitalism as Mr. Thomas, of the railway servants, is compelled to admit that "more passengers and goods traffic could now be handled in eight hours than formerly could be handled in ten."

To keep up this mad and increasing pace a greater amount of food and leisure is rendered necessary in order that the worker may be able to maintain himself in the required state of physical and mental efficiency. Some recreation is necessary in order that he may keep sane. The worker is to-day being burned out faster and more ruthlessly than ever he was. The pitiless, insatiable maw of the capitalist Molch is ever grasping for more profits, and the blood of the toiler, it is very certain, will be even more greedily sucked in this new year now opening than it has been in the past.

And even though those benighted wights, the Labour reformers, with their multitudinous drops and pills and ointments, were both in power and in earnest the evil could neither be reformed out of existence nor held in the leash. It grows to fast for the first; it springs too irresistibly from the foundations of the prevailing system and method of wealth production for the second.

Is there, then, no hope? Can nothing be done to stem the tide of wasted life and labour? Is there no way of escape for the struggling wage slave, befogged and befooled by notions of trade and tariff? Stern necessity compels the answer—NONE. The very first step must be to clear the worker's mind of the cobwebs—of every befogging capitalist notion.

"You cannot redeem those below except by the sacrifice of those above." Thus spake Mr. Lloyd George not a great while ago. The words are true—let us adopt them, for in them lies the workers only hope.

SACRIFICE THOSE ABOVE. Pull them down. Overthrow their stronghold and trample on their privileges. Turn out the capitalist liar and fool, knave and bully. As a capitalist

he must go. While he is above he will feed on those below, and fellow workers, WE ARE "THOSE BELOW."

The only hope for the wage slave is to abolish the wage slavery, root, branch and twig, and to take control of the things that are necessary for the lives, comfort, well-being, and happiness of those we hold dear. So lend a willing hand, fellow wage-slave, to this imperative task, in the year 1913. Learn to give intelligent utterance to the "unlearned discontent" that is within you, for only those who KNOW can ever hope to remove the barrier which alone bars our progress toward freedom, a full life, and happiness.

The determination to acquire the knowledge essential to this undertaking, to befit oneself to be an instrument for good in the great struggle for human emancipation, to make oneself an efficient and capable judge in the day when the whole future of humanity shall depend upon the wisdom of the working class, is the best of all possible New Year resolutions for working folk.

NEW S.P.G.B. PUBLICATION.

We have to announce that we have published a report of the debate which took place at Tooting on May 21st between our comrade, J. Fitzgerald and Mr. Samuel Samuels, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth, on the subject of "Socialism v. Tariff Reform." The pamphlet consists of 48 pages, and the price is—for democracy sake, 1d.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

An Economic Class is held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8 o'clock. Will those who have nothing to learn come and teach?

A Central Speakers' Class has been established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes are held at the Head Office, 193, Gray's Inn Road, every Saturday evening at 7.30. It is urged upon all comrades to attend.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"American Socialism of the Present Day," by J. W. Hughes, Ph.D. London: John Lane. 7s. 6d.
"Aug. Bebel's 'My Life.'" T. Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d.
"Experiments in Industrial Organisation," by Edward Cadbury. London: Longman & Co. 5s. net. (To be reviewed next issue.)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

versus THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. (Peckham),

AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM,
JUNE 1st, 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

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AT SAME SPOT.

FROM THE FRONT.

The "White Slave Bill" has passed. Liberals and Tories, Peers and Commons, parsons and priests, have united to the end of getting it passed, and they have accomplished their task.

The Bill is passed into law, with the approval of the sweaters of female labour, for whom it plays the friendly part of fixing the blame for the degradation of women on less guilty shoulders—but the "white slave" is as much in evidence as ever.

After clamouring for the Bill, "the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," that organ of the Tory party, "The People," has thought fit to tell the truth about the "traffic." In its issue of December 15, 1912, it printed a special article on "White Slavery and its causes."

Under the heading "The Root of the Evil" we were told:

"The truth cannot be shirked that many recruits have joined the army of 'white slaves' through the monotony of ill-paid lives of virtue compared with the larger gains easily earned in the service of vice. All the time the market is over-supplied with female labour wages will remain low, and consequently the attractions of a life of easy virtue will be correspondingly greater."

This is almost exactly the language of the Chicago Commission on Vice which last year enquired into the question.

"The People," an organ of the anti Socialists, has to make the further confession that

"the economic or wage question to a very large extent is the root of the social evil. The sad fact cannot be ignored that the 'sweating' of women is an evil that flourishes very actively, and many firms of high repute grind down their employees to a shameful degree. Hence the market price of virtue is very cheap at the present time."

Thus is the fraud of capitalism made plain. The hypocrisy of the "Pass the Bill" campaign is confessed, for the measure contains not a single provision designed to stop the "sweating of women." The "white slaves" will remain and increase in number until the wage slave system is ended. But that would be the end of the "flogging" fanatics, as well as of the "procurers"—the makers as well as the patrons of the modern Magdalene's trade.

It will be recalled that last year the Home Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, at the demand of the factory owners, passed a Home Office Order (No. 360, April, 1911) permitting boys sixteen years of age to work in factories all night making artificial silk fibre. Prior to his action the lowest age for night work was fixed by the Factory Act of 1901 at eighteen years for this trade. Such was the industrial progress of "Dear Winston," and his kindly consideration for the employers. If the workers' children suffer, well, there is always the sanatoria friend David George, or the free funerals furnished by "honest John's" Poor Law!

Much criticism was aroused by this action, as aforetime the Home Secretary appointed a committee to enquire into (who said whitewash?) the question of nightwork for boys. Their report has just been issued (Cd. 6,503). They tell us that

"they realise that it is essential in necessarily continuous processes in certain industries at the present time, in order to avoid unreasonable loss through waste of fuel or valuable material, and that in considering the question of prohibition of night employment of boys, regard must be had for what measure of further prohibition is practicable without imposing any serious disabilities on the industries of the country."

They ask that permission should be given where "stoppage causes such waste of fuel or material as would entail financial loss likely to materially damage the business." What the continuity of the processes has got to do with the reduction of the age limit they do not say. Processes can be continued by the ever-increasing

ing number of men seeking work—but that wouldn't do. Boys—young boys—are so much cheaper.

"Serious disabilities" and "unreasonable loss"—of life may be imposed upon the children of the workers, but the sanctity of capital must not be touched. The children must "sleep" by day and slave by night to make the masters' millions grow. Who dare speak of "breaking up the home and family life" after this?

Dealing with the glass manufacturing trade, where boys have been given permission to work all night at the age of fourteen for regular spells of 14 hours, the committee says:—

"We recognise, however, that owing to the large proportion of boy labour in the trade, and to the fact that foreign competition still presses heavily on our manufacturers, though in a less degree than formerly, it is not desirable to do anything that would cause too sudden a disturbance of trade conditions."

This despite the fact that they admit that it is the most deadly of all, and that dozens of leading witnesses gave evidence as to its disastrous effects. The number of boys in the trade far exceeds that of men. The committee, speaking of the machine, says:—

"Though it seems likely that, by the introduction of labour-saving machinery, the necessity for employment of boys is likely to be greatly reduced, any such change is likely to be very gradual. Unfortunately the increased use of machinery often tends to displace the skilled workman rather than the boys."

One witness is quoted as typical of the objections to night work:—

"Dr. Ridley Bailey, certifying surgeon for Bilston, was of the opinion that during the period of active growth, when the tissue changes are going on, work at night, which is very heavy in his district, must tend to interfere with the physical development and the physical faculties. He found the boys had some times to sleep during the day in beds that had been occupied during the previous night, and stated that owing to the street noises and the sounds inseparable from the carrying on of household routine during the day, it was impossible for sleep to be so sound and refreshing as it would be in the night. He considered it a very serious matter that boys should be placed in such a position."

This servile report of the Departmental Committee is signed by William Waldorf Astor, M.P., and among others there is, needless to say, the representative of the Labour Party, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.!

At Aberdeen (29.11.12) the Welsh Revivalist and Latter Day Saint, Mr. Lloyd George, lectured on Miracles. He told his audience that a blacksmith would get two hundred pounds and a consumption cure thrown in for a few shillings under the last "Act of the Apostles."

At Birmingham, however, Sir James Barr, President of the British Medical Association, said (6.12.12):—

"He knew no greater legislative farce than the method of dealing with tuberculosis under the Insurance Act. You must get tuberculosis before they begin to stamp it out, and then a totally inadequate sum is allowed for the stamping out process."

If Sir James thinks any Liberal or Tory politician will really wipe out the main cause of tuberculosis, viz., poverty, he must have enough faith "to move mountains"—and as much real knowledge of the capitalist world as "a grain of mustard seed."

The Postmaster General has opened automatic telephone exchanges in various parts, the last being at Hereford. Many others are being built. The feature of them is that no operators are required, each subscriber being his own connector. The extension of the system is to save a great deal of money, and the girls will be dispensed with. They may "seek fresh fields and pastures new"—be shipped to Buenos Ayres or "Walk down the Strand" and ponder over the "wonders of science" with the "white slave trader."

An American paper also informs us that dairy-maids are damned by an automatic milking machine that is proving very successful over in Yankee land. The increasing use of the Dictaphone in offices here is pronouncing the death-sentence of the shorthand writer, and things all round look blacker than ever for the fair sex of the slave class. First it was "Good-bye, brother, come in, sister!" Now it is "Good-bye, sister, enter, Science, and save my wages bill!"

Canadian capitalists are doing well. They have offered the British Government seven millions to build three Dreadnoughts to guard "our shores." The prosperity of the owners of the "Golden West" was the theme of the Premier of Alberta at the Royal Colonial Institute in London on December 4th. He said that

"A huge tract of land that was at one time only inhabited by Indians and buffaloes was on the point of becoming an important part of the country. To-day there were 14,000 miles of railway line completed and working at a cost of 80 millions, most of which had come from the City of London."

He also said that Canada is "a splendid place for the emigrant who is prepared to take off his coat," but he quite forgot to remind the emigrant that he must keep his coat off until he's worked out and then make way for the newer and cheaper emigrant.

The Canadian toilers have taken off their coats so much in the past that when a railway has to be built most of the money has to come from the City of London, where they don't take their coats off. The workers of the West are so industrious that the Premier pointed out that "there is an unlimited scope for safe investment." The chap who takes his coat off has no money to invest, but he can invest his time in Socialism with happy results for the future.

"Spite of all the efforts of the Salvation Army, the Church Army, and countless other organisations, the morass of squalor shows no visible dint. The tide of crime and pauperism ebbs and flows sullenly in dependence upon the trade cycle, with little change in the general level. The drunkard still abounds, though drinking has decreased. The shelters of the Salvation Army and other organisations are always full, yet the casual wards are more crowded than ever. The average number of vagrants relieved in 1906 constitutes a record. The number of persons actually houseless in London and passing the night in the open is probably greater than before, and is certainly very considerable."

The terrible indictment I have quoted is from "The Social Work of the Salvation Army," and is written by W. H. Beveridge, Director of the Labour Exchange Department, Board of Trade.

A. KOHN.

THE PSEUDO-SOCIALIST VOTE IN U.S.

A MILLION votes for Socialism! In exulting tones the worthy supporters of the body calling itself the Socialist Party of America tell us that this was, approximately, the vote cast for their candidate for the Presidency of the United States—Eugene V. Debs.

A million votes for Socialism! Would that it were true! Would not we too rejoice? But we have, in duty bound, to look into the matter before we join in the shouts of victory and—we decide to reserve our surplus steam.

This vote, perforce, compelled some attention at the hands of the capitalist Press. They found this vote a serious menace to "American institutions," that is, of course, capitalist institutions, writ Uncle Sam. And probably the capitalist Press is not far wrong, for one may well admit that the vote for Eugene Debs for the Presidency is a presage of the fall of capitalism, without agreeing to the assumption that the U.S. working class have gone a million strong for the Socialist Republic.

A slight acquaintance with the S.P. of A. teaches one that its membership is made up of all sorts and conditions of men and women with, for the most part, very little more to recommend them for membership of a Socialist Party than good intentions and enthusiasm. Only a small

part have anything approaching a real grip of the proletarian position.

As was the case in the old S.D.F. in Great Britain, there is much talk of Marxism. But so little are the implications of Socialist economics understood and the conditions of the class struggle appreciated, that we find the party, in its respective State platforms, asking for the support of the working class for a long list of reforms, such as the Minimum Wage, the Eight Hours Day, Old Age Pensions, Sick Insurance, etc., much as we have been used to finding in S.D.F. programmes.

In fact, such emphasis and prominence were given these in the New York State platform that it was thought necessary to remind the public in large type on the last page, that the ultimate object was not overlooked.

Damagogue Roosevelt, the biggest bluffer Uncle Sam can boast of, created a distinct rustle by annexing a large slice of this reform program—and this on the recommendation of a prominent S.P. member, it appears.

This membership seemed to think rather flattering, though, of course, it was, on the contrary, a tribute to the anti-Socialist character of their own party. For, surely, if those demands were Socialistic, capitalist Roosevelt would not even have looked at them.

However, one point is worth noticing, that is that the prophecy that Roosevelt would carry off a large part of the "Socialist" vote or prevent it increasing has proved entirely mistaken. Apparently his "revolutionary" candidature did not keep a vote from Debs.

With regard to this reform question one hears from the S.P. members the same old confusing nonsense about a capitalism too rotten to be patched, and yet calling for a whole rag-shop full of patches in the shape of the S.P. "immediate demands."

Leading the voting returns from the various parts of the country, one notices the great disparity of votes given for different candidates on the same local Party ticket—showing that many votes are cast for persons rather than for principles. Thus in Illinois an S.P. candidate came near being elected to an important legal office, while the remainder of the S.P. candidates ran hopelessly in the rear. In this case the party Press announces the intention to contest the election, thereby admitting the party's readiness to accept office from voters who do not even indorse the party's program, such as it is. Such a policy is an exhibition of weakness, and can only lead to failure, disappointment, and apathy. Inevitably the association of the name of Socialism with such a policy and its results must confuse the proletariat and hinder the cause.

In Milwaukee, where in a previous election V. Berger was elected to Congress in a three-cornered fight on the usual pledges of innumerable reforms, the party was defeated. The old parties combined to prevent the re-election of Berger. Likewise the city of Schenectady turned out of power the S.P. administration through an old party combination.

Now had the S.P. of A. at the previous election gone before the electorate with a simple statement of the Socialist object, it is certain that these candidates would not have won office, and there would not have been built up the false hopes involving subsequent disappointment. Such would have been the better way, for the foundations of success would have been laid. For, surely, when a real Socialist majority has been developed and had its way at the ballot-box, the capitalist party combination will have done its worst and shown its impotence to affect the issue.

The experience of Schenectady and Milwaukee illustrates well the misleading character of the big vote for Debs. The possibility looms ahead of this vote growing on its present loose and unreliable lines to the point where the S.P. will find itself vested with the reins of Government and yet be so placed as to be quite unable to effect those revolutionary economic changes that alone can justify its assumption of the name Socialist. One shrinks from the contemplation of the likely outcome of such a situation, and can only hope that some of the pluck and enthusiasm of the American worker will soon get translated into that clear understanding of the problem of working class supremacy that must precede any possibility of Socialist victory.

J. H. (New York.)

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JANUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 C. Baggett	A. Tims	J. Roe	H. Cooper
" " "	7.30 I. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns
Edmonton Green	7.30 F. J. Rourke	A. Pearson	A. J. Cobs	C. Ginger
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 J. Roe	A. Jacobs	C. Gatter	B. Young
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 F. Vickers	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	J. G. Stone
Ilford (station)	7.30 J. G. Stone	B. Young	C. Parker	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 J. Roe	C. Baggett	A. W. Pearson	W. Lewington
" " "	7.30 A. Barker	R. Fox	J. Fitzgerald	F. J. Rourke
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 T. W. Allen	F. Leigh	A. Kohn	E. Lake
Peckham Triangle	7.30 A. Tims	C. Ginger	B. Young	J. Fitzgerald
Stoke Newington, Kilby Rd., Dalles.	11.30 A. Kohn	J. Roe	T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson
Tooting Broadway	11.30 E. Lake	C. Elliott	J. G. Stone	A. Tims
" " "	7.30 C. Gatter	A. Barker	T. W. Allen	C. Baggett
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	F. J. Rourke	C. Ginger	R. Fox
Walham Green Church	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	T. W. Allen
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 A. Hoskyns	S. Blake	A. Tims	A. Barker
" " "	7.30 W. Lewington	J. G. Stone	F. J. Rourke	C. Gatter
" " "	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Kohn	R. Fox	A. Anderson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

HEAD OFFICE:

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BRANCH DIRECTORY.**BATTERSEA.**—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.**BEDFORD.**—All communications to R. T. Freeman 33 Britania-rd.**CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.**EARLSFIELD.**—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd, Garratt-la. Branch meets 29, Thornssett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m.**EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.**EDMONTON.**—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.**FULHAM.**—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.**GRAVESEND.**—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.**ILFORD.**—Communications to Secretary, care of W. Prentis & Co., Broadway Chambers, Ilford. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m. in Room No 11, Broadway Chambers, Ilford. All communications to secretary.**ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.**MANCHESTER.**—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.**MARYLEBONE.**—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.**PADDINGTON.**—Communications to Sec., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., at p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).**PECKHAM.**—R. J. Millar, Sec., 80, Haymerle-road, Peckham. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**—Communications to Sec., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.**STOKE NEWINGTON.**—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Monds. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.**TOOTING.**—W. Thomas, Sec., 47 Woodbury-street, Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).**TOTTENHAM.**—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.**WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.**WATFORD.**—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

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**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

That the Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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No. 102. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, FEBRUARY 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

ENVIRONMENT MAKES THE MAN. THE ANTI-SOCIALIST ANSWERED.

"The Socialist tells us that environment makes the man. Why is it that the same environment breeds at the same time the fool and the intellect?"

The above question was asked by an Anti-Socialist lecturer at a recent outdoor meeting. When the Socialist, after careful analysis, says that "wealth can only be produced by the application of human labour-power to the nature-given material, and as the capitalist does not contribute labour in any form, he must obtain his wealth by robbery," the anti-Socialist accuses him of generalising. But, at least, his generalisation is true in the main, although there are capitalists—in a small way—who participate in their own business concerns.

The anti-Socialist quoted above, however, generalises on a premise that is absolutely false. The questioner assumes that the fool and the intellect are the result of the same environment. The reverse is the case—so much so that the man of average intelligence accounts, quite rightly, for differences in acquirements and intelligence by referring to the training and opportunities of those in question.

From this common-sense standpoint alone it is evident that the man who is replete with knowledge must have lived in a different environment to that of the ignoramus. This may seem like reasoning in a circle, but when we find that no two individuals are alike, either physically or mentally, and when we also find that no two individuals meet with exactly the same experiences in their struggle for existence, we are justified in assuming some connection between the two.

Each individual has a separate and different environment; each individual is different and distinct from every other. The natural explanation of two such platitudes is that they are cause and effect.

It is quite true that an ever-increasing number of minds are broken on the wheel of capitalist industry. It is also true that a certain proportion of the population in any given form of society are born weak minded. But these are not the products of the system, referred to in the question. The anti-Socialist would consider those men intellects who had achieved a measure of success in the industrial struggle, and those who remain poor he would regard as of weaker intellect. It is a habit of mind engendered in the anti-Socialist, and acquiesced in by the majority, to credit those who have wealth, or who hold what are called responsible positions, with superior intelligence.

If the measure of success in the struggle for existence is to indicate the standard of intelligence, it is necessary to ascertain how far opportunities are equalised among the combatants.

If we intend to examine the environment of individuals for the sake of comparison, it is

necessary to do so from the commencement of individual existence, which Ernest Haeckel says is "the moment of conception, when the sex cells coalesce and form a separate being." It is plain that throughout the embryonic stage the mental and physical state of different parents will have an important bearing on the development—both doctors and eugenicists insist upon the point. On the development of procreative organs depends the degree of perfection in the function itself. Custom has called this heredity, but in reality organs, functions, parents and their previous development and material conditions form the environment of the new individual, which is a microscopic speck of protoplasm—one cell out of millions, which show no difference whatever, even under the most powerful microscope.

The process of development is purely vegetable at this stage; even after birth every child is subjected to different conditions of treatment. As it grows it adds to and develops the ideas, prejudices, and habits of the parents which it has already inherited and which shape its character and determine its mental outlook.

An apology for education is inflicted upon every working-class child, designed to fit it with the knowledge indispensable to capitalist production, because capitalists demand, and endeavour to arrange for themselves, "equality of opportunity" in the exploitation of labour. The average child on leaving school is qualified to perform the duties connected with the simpler processes of every occupation, and possesses the potential ability and intelligence to ultimately fill the most responsible positions. But capitalism is only concerned with profits, not with the well-being or aspirations of the child.

Herbert Spencer—to quote a capitalist authority—long ago pointed out how limited was the choice of occupations for young people, how the average child brought up in the Potteries was doomed to become a potter, how the majority of Lancashire children were destined for the cotton mills, and so on over the whole industrial field. The mass of the workers have to accept ill paid and degrading situations, because there is nothing else for them, and economic stress determines that they must be earning.

Capitalist production consists, in the main, of routine work; the so-called brain worker is as much a cog in the industrial machine as the mechanic or the labourer. The sphere in which he is placed gives him experience. Men do not become managers and organisers at once: they have to serve their apprenticeship in positions that qualify them for such posts. The average child on leaving school has sufficient intelligence to serve the apprenticeship and qualify for any position under the system. But the number of jobs worth having are strictly limited, and are largely apportioned by influence.

Capitalism is incapable of breeding real intel-

lects: it has no use for them. Further, the system is destructive of intelligence itself; it condemns millions to tasks which can hold no interest for them, leaving them no time or opportunity for the improvement of the mind. The professions are stultified and subordinated to capitalist ideals. The scientist can only hope for success by discoveries which cheapen the cost of production, for social standing and capitalist approval by swearing on his honour that the more he learns the stronger becomes his belief in religion. Art has long ago succumbed to commercialism, because success is for those who record on canvas, to order, the mutton-chop whiskers, gold rimmed spectacles and diamond studs, of a Wertheimer, Beit, or Rothschild. In literature popularity is the test and measure of success, and a servile system gives the award to neurotic productions like "Sherlock Holmes," and "The War of the Worlds," or to adulatory biographies of Victoria the Good or Edward the Peacemaker. The Stage is in the same category as Literature—the hall-mark of popularity is stamped on "Charley's Aunt," "The Miracle," and "Alexander's Rag-Time," not because they display merit or power, but because popular intelligence, being circumscribed by capitalist conditions and ideals, applauds what it can understand.

The products of capitalism are, first, unbecomingly parasitic exhibiting various shades of gluttony, arrogance, and tyranny; secondly, millions of toiling slaves who's only likeness to one another is that they do not—to quote Mr. Lloyd George—"earn sufficient to replace the energy they use up in their daily toil." Of what is capitalism to these?

When the best jobs are apportioned, when the plunder is shared by a robber class, nothing remains for the vast mass of humanity but the anarchy of incessant struggle with conditions and against one another for the bare necessaries of life. What can it signify to them that there are a few opportunities here and there? The vast majority are condemned to poverty from the outset. To these we bring the message of Marx: "Workers of the World, unite! you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win." Organise as a political party; leave confusion to the confusionist, and capitalist politics to the capitalist. Aim directly at your emancipation, and by your own intelligence, determination, and courage transform this bestial environment into one that will become your manhood.

F. F.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The Party's Head Office is now at
193, GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W C

ASKED & ANSWERED.

IS MUNICIPALISATION OF INDUSTRIES REACTIONARY?

[TO THE EDITOR.]

"Sir,—Is it not a fact that at the present stage of economic development, and from a Marxian standpoint, Municipalisation etc. of industries is reactionary?—because municipalisation to a certain extent eliminates competition, thereby postponing the necessity for scrapping comparatively out of date machinery, which must necessarily retard the installation of labour saving machinery. Anything which retards the installation of labour-saving machinery must necessarily retard the Social Revolution."

"R. T. (New Zealand)."

It is, of course, a matter of little importance to the Socialist whether industries are "nationalised" or "trustified." In either case they are at present controlled by capitalists for the benefit of capitalists, and in either case these must be dispossessed by the workers before the people can reap the benefit. But the idea put forward by our correspondent that competition is essential to industrial advance is a fallacy. The elimination of competition is in itself a labour-saving device. Moreover, in almost every instance in recent times where combination has followed acute competition, the immediate result has been a great saving of waste by centralising management and distribution, and, more important still, inefficient works have been closed down, out-of-date machinery scrapped, and more highly developed labour-saving plant and machinery have soon been introduced, with the single object of securing higher dividends. This has been the case from newspapers to motor-buses, and from cigarettes to cement. And the combine, trust, or State department has the means, the incentive, and the power to experiment with new methods, and to instal and utilise labour or wages saving devices in a way and to an extent that would be utterly impossible to the smaller competitive firm.

If, then, we have a word of condemnation for municipalisation, it is not because it eliminates what is called competition. Municipalisation fails because in many cases it stands in the way of the scientific organisation of production.

This is not to say that municipal undertakings do this in every case, or that their equipment is not up to date. On the contrary, their ordinary items of machinery and plant compare favourably with private firms, whether water-works, gas-works, tramways or electricity works. But where municipalisation fossilises a political boundary in industrial organisation, and tends to retard the fuller and more efficient organisation of an undertaking by trust or State, it has to be condemned as reactionary.

The tramway systems could be much more efficiently and usefully managed and worked over much larger areas than is permitted by the present local boundaries. Compare the ramifications of the London motor-bus combine with the number of separate tramway systems of greater London. Indeed, the Londoner travelling to the extreme east of his native town by tram had, until recently, good cause to regret the limitations of municipalisation each time he crossed the territory of a fresh council and had, perforce, to change trams. Only lately has the compromise of a few through cars on one or two routes been arrived at.

Notwithstanding such working arrangements (which only minimise public inconvenience without securing the economy of combination), the wastefulness of separate management and working are inherent in municipal enterprises of that nature. Economic development, indeed, may be expected in the long run to burst its municipal bonds; in which case it will cease to be reactionary only because it ceases to be "municipal."

In certain cases, moreover, nationalisation also must be reactionary in the sense of putting political and uneconomical barriers to industrial organisation. This will be remedied only by International Socialism.

But with regard to municipal undertakings this fact is very clear, particularly in the case of electrical works. Electricity can be very much more cheaply generated in bulk and distributed over wide areas than it can be separately managed, generated, and distributed in each petty borough. In all cases, therefore, we point out that municipalisation is reactionary, not because it eliminates competition, but on the contrary because it puts political barriers to industrial development.

It must not, however, be supposed that we are greatly concerned. The matter has chiefly an academic interest to the Socialist. Economic forces will shape our ends, rough hew them how we will. It is not our business to go out of our way to hurry on the development of capitalism. That will go on in spite of us. We require all our energy to propagate Socialism and organise the workers for its realisation. But the facts regarding municipalisation usefully show the humbug—originally—of that horde of pseudo-Socialists who call it "Municipal Socialism," and hail it as a short cut to the New Jerusalem.

W.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

An Economic Class is held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8 o'clock. Will those who have nothing to learn come and teach?

A Central Speakers' Class has been established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes are held at the Head Office, 193, Gray's Inn Road, every Saturday evening at 7.30. It is urged upon all comrades to attend.

NEW S.P.G.B. PUBLICATION.

We draw readers' attention to the displayed advertisement appearing elsewhere on this page of our new debate pamphlet. This book is fine value, and should be read by all.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. PRESTON (Canonbury).—It is not true that Marx repudiates political action in a later edition of "Capital" and in "The 19th Brumaire," or in any other works for that matter. On the other hand, his works directly counsel political action as the essential method for the working class.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Further Reminiscences," by H. M. Hyndman. 15s. net. "Poverty," by Robert Hunter. 2s. net. Both from Macmillan.

A DEBATE

WILL BE HELD

ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 29th, AT 8,

ST. JAMES'S CHURCH INSTITUTE,

GRAVESEND.

Subject: "That Socialism alone will benefit the Working Class: Christianity will not."

AFFIRMATIVE: F. VICKERS (S.P.G.B.)

NEGATIVE: Rev. S. J. POOLE, M.A., Vicar of St. James's Gravesend.

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ADMISSION SIXPENCE.

THE FRANCHISE FIASCO.

"After years of promise the Liberal Party have drawn up a Suffrage Reform Bill. With a long sham fight about 'Home Rule' and 'Welsh Disestablishment' before them, the measure seems to have had its last and first reading."

"The suffrage for women, too, seems to have been left out of this Government measure in the hope that it will help to keep the fires of controversy burning—and perhaps to sufficient effect to cremate the Bill."

So wrote we in our issue of July last upon the introduction of the now cremated Bill. We wrote the truth because we know the history of this party of cravens—of their contemptible cowardice in the past. We never expected them to do more than dress the political window to catch the eye of the voter in bye-elections.

It is the old, old story—ever new to the politically blind—the story of '32, '67, and '92. Hypocrisy writ large over the actions and speeches of the "leaders of the People." Just as King Edward conveniently died to prevent them "doing things" to the House of Lords, so now something turns up to help them out of the ditch.

"The Speaker" discovers that if Asquith keeps his promise and allows the Bill "to be widened in its scope," it can't go through. So Asquith pronounces its funeral oration.

They never dreamt of such a thing as the Speaker doing that! Oh, dear, no! Eminent lawyers, too, most of them! The very men, moreover, who make and maintain the laws of procedure in the House of Commons! What a sorry tale of bluff!

It was ever thus with them. They don't want to see a wider franchise. They fear its possibilities. They are afraid of political changes—they might lose their jobs. As the passing of a Franchise Bill is coincident with a General Election, they don't like to take their chances.

The story of the fight for the franchise is a story of Liberal and Tory betrayal of the working class. Both parties made use of the Chartist movement, and both helped to smash it. Persecution and broken promises were the weapons then used, and they served their purpose well. After a generation had passed that grand old humbug, W. E. Gladstone, promised the workers the franchise, but, true to his kidney, he wobbled when the time came. So they went on, Parliament after Parliament voting down franchise Bills.

Yet to-day, relying upon the working class short memories, the lying Liberals boast of having given the toilers the vote.

So now, after years of promise, they deliver their still-born Bill. But just as Household Suffrage was inevitable, so now we believe that in the march of events Adult Suffrage is bound to come. But, true to their historic methods, the Liberals will try it in instalments. A small portion at a time in order to reap the kudos on many occasions. They will go warily, lest they alter the complexion of political life.

We, however, do not regret the death of this Bill. As we pointed out in July last, there was nothing democratic about it. But the way it has gone shows what a fund of ingenuity these cunning lawyer politicians can bring to the bluffing of the working class. And is it not significant that we were able to foretell this six months ago? A. K.

"SOCIALISM

DEFINES

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

Post Free 1½d.

LABOUR LEADERS AND WAGES.

Of all the comments, discussions and cartoons set going by the leader of the Opposition's speech at Ashton-under-Lyne, not any that have come before this writer's notice have had anything to say about this part (I quote from the "Daily Telegraph's" report):—

"I believe in combination for the purpose of raising the conditions of labour, and I believe it has done a great deal less than it ought to have done for this reason, as I think, that from the moment the trade unions were seized for political purposes, from that moment their influence in their real object disappeared. Is not that natural? If trade unions are to make the best bargains with employers, the men who lead these unions must understand the conditions of the trade as well as the employers understand them. They must know when to make demands, and they must know when it is useless to make demands. To understand any trade in that way we require the best intellect which trade unions can produce. But how can it be exercised for that purpose if the ambition of leaders of trade unions is not to direct these unions, but to go to Westminster and pose there as statesmen, and settle the destinies of the whole country."

"It is for that reason, as I believe, that trade unionism has done so little to help the conditions of labour during the last ten years, and it is for that reason, also, I think, that the leaders have lost their influence over trade unions, and obviously unless trade unions are disciplined their power of negotiation is gone."

The idea is certainly very quaint. Trade union officials are to convert themselves into labour-power merchants and slave brokers; to watch the fluctuations of the "labour market," to ask a bigger price when they can, and, inversely, when the market is against them, presumably, to accept a smaller one. The study of the market in this case is to be so continuous that no time is to be available for political purposes, notwithstanding that merchants in other commodities are eminently eligible as statesmen.

The suggestion that the influence of the men's leaders has waned since they have entered upon political activities is exceedingly doubtful. We must bear in mind that to a great extent the T. U. officials already function as brokers, and any lessening of their influence is more directly traceable to their activities as such than as politicians.

The arrangements made and signed between masters' and men's representatives have been frequently matters of hot discussion in the unions, and accusations of betraying the men are not unknown. Suspicions of the use the leaders make of their power as brokers more frequently undermine the faith in those leaders than any gyrations on the political field can possibly do. On the economic side the effect of such an agreement is immediately and directly felt; on the political side if a workers' representative functions as a capitalist representative, the immediate effect is but to strengthen an already-existing majority.

To us the waning influence of the labour leader is the most hopeful sign of the labour unrest, indicative as it is of the awakening of consciousness soon to ripen into Socialism, and a jealous vigilance over the leader for a repetition of the double-dealing engineered in the past, too often with impunity. The reason of so little improvement having taken place in working-class conditions during the last ten years will have to be sought in another direction. It is a long story, and readers of the Socialist Standard are perhaps familiar with it. It is known as the Law of Wages, fairly well understood by the Socialist, and knocks the bottom out of all reforms, whether of the Liberal, Tory, or Labour brand. It is recognised in essence by the suggestion that the T. U. official should qualify as an expert in order to manipulate the market. It rests on that recognition of the commodity form of labour. For when the expert T. U. dealer has driven his commodities to market, higgled price over them with buyer, drawn his commission, and signed the contract, there still has to be found the point around which the fluctuations of the market oscillate.

When a merchant takes a load of potatoes to market and higgles price with the buyer, we read in the next day's market reports that, the supply exceeding the demand, prices were cut to such and such a figure, or, inversely, the demand being keen and the supply slack, prices rose to such and such a figure. But if the price of potatoes fluctuate between (say) 7s. and 13s., according to the excess of supply or demand, the reason for it fluctuating between these figures and not some others, say 27s. and 33s., has still to be found. That reason is the cost of production.

As with potatoes, so with labour-power, and so with any other commodity that ever went to market. The higgling of the market can only operate upon the cost of production, the point at which prices rest when supply and demand balance each other, or equilibrate, as the economists say.

In the case of labour-power—the case in which the workman is very directly concerned—that cost of producing his capacity to work will vary with the degree of skill required in a given trade, but will always represent the standard of subsistence needed to enable him to keep in a fit condition to work, and to develop the necessary skill during the probationary period, and to maintain the supply of such labour by rearing a family.

The factors entering into the category in some trades are necessarily complex, and dim historical and social survivals have tended to smooth off the harsher corners of the economic law, but the law is in no way invalidated thereby.

Most conclusions can be checked by inverting the syllogism—by inducing as well as deducting. In this case we have not only the theoretic argument, but the statistical tabulations of several social investigators. The labours of Booth, Rowntree, Horsfall, and Munn (Harold, not Tom), approaching the problem from the other end and tabulating the cost of living and the incomes of families in their different parts of the country, prove the one to approximate to the other, incidentally throwing considerable light on the vicissitudes of the worker's life, and marking out, as on a chart, his alternate journey above and below the poverty line.

In the case of commodities other than human the same check holds good, the book-keeping of the producer telling him what margin of profit he is making or when he is being compelled, by the exigencies of a specially unfavourable market, to sell at a loss—that is, below his cost of production. The better equipment of a rival, reducing cost of production, may either increase the margin of profit of the one or reduce that of the other, according as the average is affected; the ultimate determinant being the socially necessary human labour-power required in production.

Thus we see by a brief and cursory examination that the conditions of labour must remain at or about the poverty line during the continuance of the wages system, and that no tinkering on the part of reform politicians can get away from the miserable fact. The relation between the wages system and capitalism must belong to another article, but here I want to make an observation on the importance of politics in connection with a further quotation from the same speech.

"In the old days, when absolute power was in the hands of kings, ambitious men, in order to obtain power, played upon the weaknesses of kings, and flattered them."

"The power has changed. It is now in the hands of the working classes of this country, if they choose to exercise it, but human nature has not changed. Men with the same ambitions, animated by the same motives, try to obtain them in the same way, but now they flatter not kings, but the people."

From this we see admitted by the Tory leader what some of our "friends" would deny, viz., that the power is in the hands of the working class.

So, given a working class understanding the working-class position and recognising the futility of reform; seeing, with noon-day clearness, the ease with which capitalism can be abolished by the exercise of their admitted power with the intelligence born of such understanding, we shall move, as with seven-league boots, toward the Social Revolution and the establishment of Socialism.

D. K.

OIL AND SLAVES.

The oil age is coming. Year books, financial journals, the sharks of Throgmorton Street, together with the rest of the interested, "far seeing" exploiters and worshippers of the golden calf, are eagerly discussing the possibilities of oil as a motive force, and how much more profit they can grab by its use.

It behoves the working class to consider the question also, because it is they who are going to suffer, as usual, from what would be a boon and a blessing to all were the toilers sufficiently enlightened and determined to make it such.

The "Diesel" engine has already proved itself capable of propelling ocean-going steamers, and will doubtless be in general use in the near future. Look at this: "The engine room staff of the 'Selandia' consists of eight men and two boys. No firemen required: No boilers needed. No loading with bunker coal for the voyage."

How our masters must rub their hands with delight when they think of the saving of wages, extra cargo space, cheaper ships, and many other advantages. How the thoughtful fireman must curse when his job disappears, and the boiler-maker when he reads: "No boilers required." How joyous the coal-porter must feel when, instead of fifty men engaged in coaling a ship, he sees the engineer turn on the oil cock and fill his tanks in a few hours! Oh! the unspeakable happiness of the lightermen and railwaymen at the thought of not having to transport any more dirty coal to the docks! What joy dwells in the heart of the miner as he thinks of the near future when oil competes fiercely with coal, and thousands of him are saved the trouble of squabbling over "abnormal places," having gained the displaced wage-slave's normal place—the gutter.

The "Selandia" saved on her first voyage to Bangkok a sum of £1,200 for fuel alone. She is only a small ship. The saving on great liners will be commensurably greater, as will the number of "hands" displaced. Great is oil!

A Royal Commission with Lord Fisher at its head was appointed in July last to enquire into the possibilities of oil-driven "Dreadnoughts" (many torpedo craft already use oil), and the remarks of "The Times" were significant when announcing its appointment. "If," said that paper, "oil as a fuel and oil-driven engines were adopted exclusively as the result of the Commission's enquiries, not only might great economy be effected, but fewer men would be required to attend the engines, and there would be economy in space and weight." Yes! indeed. It will be splendid when they sack half the "black squad" of the navy, and what an inspiring sight it will be when the enemy's shell drops into the oil-tanks!

Already it is announced ("Lloyd's Newspaper," Jan. 12) that a large tract of oil land in New Brunswick has been acquired for the Admiralty at a cost of £2,000,000, to supply oil fuel for the Navy, and that a chain of storage depots is being built round the coasts. Mr. Keir Hardie will now be satisfied, I anticipate.

Then, again, the railway companies are going in for oil from sheer necessity, having been badly hit by the motor lorries. Sir Sam Fay, manager of the Great Central Railway, declares that "we shall soon see oil-driven cars running on all the railways and supplanting the steam engines." Of course, he says nothing about the supplanted firemen—doesn't interest him a great deal.

Altogether, the advent of oil as a fuel will have a far-reaching effect upon the working class, and its moral effect for them is obvious. Every great labour-saving invention or discovery—and the use of oil as a propelling agent has been made possible by the invention of Dr. Diesel—spells unemployment for thousands while capitalism lasts. Many are flung "out" to accentuate the competition of those "in." When the workers will it the work will be flung out instead, lessening the labours and adding to the leisure and pleasure of all.

We call it Socialism, this condition of affairs wherein every invention will contribute only to the comfort and happiness of the whole people. Work for it, for there is no hope for the slave class in any other direction. WOLLIE.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

Twelve Months, post free	1s. 6d.
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A QUESTION OF POLICY.

The work the Socialist has before him is to make Socialists—to make adherents to the Socialist whole, not to any conglomeration of

Regarding the last point, it certainly seems that provision for sound membership might be made in the same way that the S.P. secures it: by a declaration of principles—and discipline.

(Italics mine.)

Rufus says that "there is not the faintest evidence" to show that the lives of the sailors have been endangered, but even the spokesman of the Liberal party, the "Daily News," said (24.10.12): "Almost unanimously captains, officers, engineers, and seamen have declared that the new load line converted a 'dry' ship into a 'wet' ship because it destroyed a ship's reserve buoyancy, and so endangered life and property." And it goes on: "At last a court of enquiry has found in the case of one steamer that the *primary cause* of her loss and the deaths of twenty of her men was excessive dead weight and insufficient freeboard." The magis-

Sir Rufus hopes that his correspondent will be able to refute our charges with the information in his letter, but the "information" consists of his assertion that "the statement is wholly unwarranted." The letter is valuable as showing the sorry position the apologists of this red-handed Government get into whenever they are unguarded enough to attempt to deal with a working class attack upon their actions.

The S.P.G.E. alone fills this requirement. By the term "Social Revolution" we mean a revolution in, and of, society. Any upheaval which merely replaced one set of masters with another would not be a social revolution, because the same social system would continue to prevail. We claim that a complete social change from private ownership to common ownership is necessary, because so long as private ownership continues the robbery of the workers for the benefit of the owners will continue and increase. We can see great national, and even international, trusts and combines springing up and flourishing; and we recognise that these great trusts that encompass continents use their immense powers for one purpose and one purpose alone, viz., to obtain profit. These great combines engage whole staffs of highly qualified men whose business is to devise ways and means

But its power is on the wane. Gradually—too gradually the revolutionary force grows, each accession of strength meaning a corresponding reduction on the other side. As the workers grow conscious of their interest, the time will approach when the revolutionary minority will become a majority. The time must come when the power will pass from the hands of the employing class into those of the workers. As both classes cannot hold power at the same time, a definite break must take place. Either that or the employing class is destined to rule

Instead of Socialism being impracticable, it is clear to anyone who takes the trouble to investigate the facts, that the Socialist remedy is based on knowledge, and that the Social Revolution will come in spite of the howl set up by its enemies.

After this the only thing left us was to hold a meeting and expose them. This we did, and the meeting was a great success.

"IT HAS PAID."

A BOURNVILLE BOOK WITH THE BOURNVILLE FLAVOUR.

"Experiments in Industrial Organisation," by Edward Cadbury. London: Longman & Co. 5s. net.

I do not know exactly what a "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce" is, but it appears from the page before me that he is a person (not parson) "concerned with the training of young business men." If this is so it perhaps accounts for the unerring manner in which the particular "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce" (W. J. Ashley, Ph.D., Professor of Commerce in the University of Birmingham) who wrote the preface to Mr. Edward Cadbury's book, "Experiments in Industrial Organisation," stuck his finger right down through the thick, Bournvillainous scum of cant and humbug, upon the one solid point of resistance in the quaky, quagmy quagmire. "It is the opinion of the Firm," he says, by way of irresistible appeal to "young business men," "that, taken as a whole, their policy has distinctly 'paid.'"

I make bold to say that not even the Socialist, concerned with the training of young (and old) working men, could have got right down to the essential incentive of the Cadbury policy in fewer words and with less waste of time.

"I see no reason why we should not be quite frank in the matter," Mr. Ashley goes on, "it has been a splendid advertisement. Instead of cynically pooh-poohing it for that reason, I think this is a particularly encouraging fact, and highly creditable to human nature. It shows there is such a thing as a consumers' conscience."

Without wishing to decry poor old "human nature," the reviewer opines that one is on much safer, if less cheerful, ground in asserting that it shows that the manufacturer's conscience has had precious little to do with the Policy of the Firm (oblige with a "cap," please, Mr. Printer, and keep it "up" all through). In this one is confirmed, even before coming to the body of the book, by the further argument of a "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce," that this same policy "has reduced the expenses of manufacture."

If Mr. Cadbury had let his book simply show that the policy of the Firm had been conceived as conducting to greater profits, and that it had amply fulfilled expectations, without slandering it all over with the hypocrisy of the "Workers' Welfare" movement, one might take it up, if not with more respect, at least with less contempt.

However, in this particular sort of cant the Cadburys, like most "philanthropic" employers, have always been regular nibs—cocoa nibs—and if all the "welfare" humbug which is so lavishly scattered through this volume is translated at Bournville into actual consideration for the workers' welfare, instead of into profits, it must be, as one employee of a goody-goody firm graphically put it: "Like working for Jesus Christ."

For instance, the Firm does not employ married women in any of its processes, we are told, not, of course, because the Firm has not the same disciplinary hold over married women that it has over other employees, but because married women, in the estimation of the Firm, are not fit and proper company for girls. Doubtless this example of the Firm's deep conception of the natural "sinfulness" of women will be duly appreciated by the "consumer's conscience," as exemplified in the thousands of married women who purchase the Firm's products. Even men are not adjudged quite so badly as women, for certain selected men who wear badges are permitted in the girls' departments—though, either from oversight or from jealous regard for trade secrets, Mr. Cadbury does not say whether these "eunuchs" are properly emasculated deaf mutes or the safeguard is in the badge.

It would, however, be very useful to know just how the selection is made, whether by test or appearance. The present scribe is conscious of wearing a "werry wicked countenance," yet he is as harmless as a lamb, while certain of his (mere) acquaintances, whose countenances would guarantee them a free pass to the Sultan's harem would—well, would rush to the test.

In the mass of tabulated results set out in Mr.

Cadbury's volume is to be found striking confirmation of several important common Socialist contentions. The value of working class technical education—to the employers—is clearly demonstrated in the chapter on trade classes. "Right methods of working," we are told on page 61, "were substituted for the wrong methods which the girls had picked up"; and on the same page: "This preliminary course served, directly or indirectly, many useful purposes. For instance, it enabled the head of the department to eliminate those girls who gave no promise of ever becoming first class box-makers and to transfer them to machine work." Here we really have the key to the policy of the Firm. The Cadburys are not philanthropists: they are particularly long-headed business men. They have recognised that the ordinary brutal and clumsy methods of capitalism, which sees no difference between one worker and another, is about as wasteful a way of utilising social labour-power as can well be imagined. There is no power of selection exercised, and the majority of workers are misfits—square pegs in round holes. The man whose heart is in the soil, and who might out-Burbank Burbank in the garden, is to be found peeling potatoes in an hotel cellar, while the material for the making of the best chef in the world may be wasting in the raising of mushrooms instead of glorying in the cooking of them.

The Cadburys' great achievement lies in the realisation of this fact. Mr. Ashley, speaking after them, says in his preface: "Human beings will insist upon being treated as human beings, and not as imperfect machines." When the cant is cleared away this means: "Workers are not machines, all cast to one pattern, with the same qualities and the same imperfections. They are human beings, things of temperament and individual qualities." That was a grand discovery for a capitalist to make.

Starting out from this principle the Firm proceeds to fit all the square pegs into square holes, and all the round pegs into round holes.

The first point is to choose the material, and here the important discovery is made that intelligence in the worker is a distinct asset to the employer. It is found that girls whose intelligence enables them to reach the seventh standard become the most proficient workers, as the following shows:—

"A record was recently taken of the wages of sixth and seventh standard girls, both doing the same work under the same conditions. The results were:—

At end of three months.	
Sixth standard girls	124 pence per hour
Seventh " "	133 " "
At end of six months.	
Sixth standard girls	158 pence per hour.
Seventh " "	207 " "

The last figures mean that, even at the same wage rate, three rooms with three sets of valuable machinery operated by seventh standard girls would produce practically as much as four such rooms of costly plant attended by girls of the sixth standard. So seventh standard girls are given preference in employment, and "on a recent occasion when fifty girls were taken on, all were in the seventh standard." (p. 3.)

Having chosen the best material, freely brought to their doors by the well-considered and cunningly contrived "advantages" which their manufacturer's "conscience" prompts them to offer to those whom they aspire to employ, they now set about making the most of that selected material. This process the cocoa nibs have reduced to a fine art—with fine artfulness.

A clever system for maintaining discipline has been evolved, which does not allow "culprits" to expiate their offences with fines, but records them against them as sins to be washed away only by two years good conduct. The Firm finds this an admirable system to apply to young people "just leaving school," who "have not yet lost their habit of obedience and discipline." Then come letters to parents, pointing out the need for technical education, which, "besides ensuring that all shall have a thorough grounding in things necessary to life, also aims at making the best use of the boys' or girls' time, and means greatly increased efficiency all round." The cogent argument is also used, doubtless with overwhelming effect, that "only by treating the

subject scientifically we can hope to keep our supremacy in the world, and take our lead among the nations." Then, of course, factory ethics are inculcated, the Firm going to considerable trouble to teach its future machine operators "how serious is the loss caused by an expensive machine standing idle during the ordinary hours of work."

Then come the technical classes, firstly, as aforesaid, with a view to finding out those possessing the "gift of speed," in order to obtain workpeople for those processes which particularly require manual dexterity, and secondly to repair that other great omission of capitalist organisation, the proper training of wage slaves.

It is a strange thing how lax are capitalists in this respect. If a man aspires to fame in the "ring," he has to fit himself by a systematic training, which commences, not with his fists, but with the direction in which his left foot shall point. In cricket every detail of the manipulation of the bat is the subject of theory and practice. Even so simple (!) a thing as drawing a bow square across the strings of a fiddle has to be practiced for months before a mirror by the aspirant for efficiency. But in industry all this goes for nothing. The worker is given the job and told to get on with it, and he scrambles through.

This, however, is not the Bournville way. No effort is spared by the Firm, after fitting the square pegs to the square holes, to theorise each operation and eliminate every superfluous action.

Now for the cost side of all this. We are told on page 67 that the number of employees of the Firm in 1910-11 was 6,182, and the total cost of education to the Firm for the session of that date was £2,782. Of course, not all the workers took part in the scheme during this session, but the point is that the cost covered the annual training necessary not only to replace the Firm's present workers, but also to cover the rapid expansion of the concern.

It comes to this, then, that the benevolent despotism of the Firm supplies them with properly selected and trained workers at a cost of something less than 9s. per head per annum.

Here is cogent reasoning for the "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce's" "young business men." Do you think it is worth it—to have every worker in a vast industrial concern doing the work he or she is best fitted to do in that concern (except, of course, bossing the show) and properly trained to do it, without false motion or waste of time or material, for 9s. a head per year? Is the expert a bad bargain compared with the ordinary half-trained or untrained worker at an additional cost of 9s., or £9, ay, or perhaps even £90 per year?

Well, the Firm says that under certain stimulus the output "has doubled without any undue strain upon the workers, largely as the result of adopting better methods." And, as if to clinch the argument in favour of training as such by eliminating improvements in machinery they add: "This especially applies to hand processes."

It may be argued that as most of the work is paid for on the "piece" system the benefit goes to the workers, but the intelligent reader will hardly need to be told that the rate is fixed so as to allow the workers to reproduce their efficiency, and is revised from time to time, thus securing that every advance of the general efficiency shall be translated into extra profits for the Firm, in order, of course, that we may "keep our supremacy in the world, and take our lead among the nations."

I have not space to deal further with the details of the Bournville policy, but what remains, no less than what has been touched upon, points to the truth of what has been contended in these pages—that the general worning of working-class conditions is not inconsistent with shorter hours and higher wages, for those in work, and greater physical efficiency even for those out of work. For, as the Cadburys have discovered, the efficiency of the workers, after all, depends fundamentally upon their physical and mental condition. A. E. JACOMB.

Peckham readers should note that the local Branch has taken premises at 41, Albert-road, which are open every evening. Lectures will be delivered every Sunday, admission free.

WOMAN & SOCIALISM.

It is often asserted by our opponents, who never hesitate to stoop to any and every means to divert the attention of the working class from their only path to emancipation, that Socialism would inevitably lead to community of wives; in fact, one anti-Socialist went so far as to declare that "it would lead to universal prostitution." It is doubtful whether this is the honest opinion of these critics, or written against their opinions simply to

SHOCK THE MORALITY

of the people in an endeavour to prejudice them against Socialism. It may be that these superficial observers, having heard of the community of wives or group marriage under primitive communism, honestly believe that, as Socialism is the common ownership of the means of life, it will necessarily result in community of wives.

Of course, the intelligence of these would-be critics has not risen above the old conception of the inherent inferiority of women, believing that they exist simply to satisfy the desires of men. That women will some day be on an equality with men is beyond their comprehension, and doubtless against the wish of those who to-day are able to take advantage of women's economic inferiority.

That the sexual relationship will change with the metamorphosis of the economic basis of society no Socialist will deny, or any keen student of ancient history seriously dispute, for a study of ancient society and the corresponding forms of society still in existence, shows conclusively that the sexual relations have followed the different stages of economic development.

Let us glance at two or three of the most salient forms of sexual co-habitation. The history of these forms is not merely a chronology of different marriage systems that evolve out of preceding forms, and the development of which would remain inexplicable but for the fact that a close analysis of a very remote system

GAVE US THE KEY

to the solution of this all-important problem.

The now universally accepted theory of the descent of mankind from the anthropoid apes leads to the conclusion that promiscuous sexual intercourse would have been practised by the human race in its earliest stage, although it is possible that mankind brought with it from our anthropoid ancestors a recognised form of sexual relationship; and again, no strict line of demarcation could have been drawn between these two species of animals. But according to Prof. L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society") there exists a community of people who still practise a form of sexual co-habitation very remote from that arrived at in highly developed countries at the present time.

Among the Kamilaroi of Australia there exists, or did until recently, a very primitive form of group marriage, under which a group of men and a group of women are husbands and wives. No man, therefore, can say "This is my wife," but could only refer to the whole group of women as "our wives," and the converse is true of the women. Although this is a very low form of sexual relationship, it is a great advance on promiscuity, for it is so organised as to preclude the intermarriage of

BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

While it is not intended to give the history of even the most prominent forms of sexual co-habitation that have evolved, yet as the system practised by the Kamilaroi forms the basis from which the higher systems have evolved, we will outline its salient features.

These people are divided into eight groups—four male and four female—which we will number from 1 to 8, using the odd numbers to denote the male and the even numbers the female groups.

All the members of groups 1 and 8 are husbands and wives, and their progeny belong, not to the group of the mothers or fathers, but to groups 5 and 6. The men of 3 and the women of 6 are also husbands and wives in common, and their offspring belong to 7 and 8. The children of 5 and 4 belong to 1 and 2, and those of 7 and 2 to 3 and 4. Although we call this form group marriage, they are not necessarily clustered together, but geographically distributed as their means of gaining a livelihood dictate. But where

ever they meet they greet each other as husband and wife.

It will be seen that the system precludes the intermarriage of brothers and sisters.

Under any form of group marriage it was impossible for any man to say with any degree of certainty "this is my child." The nearest approach to this would have been "these are our children." The laws of inheritance of modern society would have been unintelligible under such a system. In the early days of the gens we find descent is in the female line, all the members of a gens assuming descent from a common female ancestor. But later descent is transferred to the male line—not any individual father, but to the gens or group of the father.

We have later the syndysmian or pairing family. Here the co-habitation of one man and one woman was continued only during the pleasure of both.

The establishment of the monogamian system was due to the

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

It has its roots in chattel slavery. The very word "family" is derived from the Latin word "fam," meaning a slave. Under this system the definite parentage of the child was ascertainable. But this system brought with it the further degradation of women, for while under the group form of marriage the woman was dependent upon no particular man for existence, for property was held in common, the reverse was the case under Monogamy.

In the incipient stages of the monogamian system the patriarch of Rome had power of life and death over his wife and children (O sacred rights of private property!), and Lecky tells us in his "History of European Morals" that: "The child was indeed the absolute slave of his father, who had a right at any time to take away his life and dispose of his entire property. He could look to no time during the life of his father in which he would be freed from thralldom; the man of fifty, the consul, the general, or the tribune was, in this respect, in the same position as the infant, and might at any moment be deprived of all the earnings of his labour, driven to the most menial employments, or even put to death by the paternal command." And this is the system in which our boasted form of the family has its origin!

But monogamy at this period of history belonged almost exclusively to the

PROPERTIED CLASS,

and among men only nominally, whilst among the slaves (who formed the vast bulk of the population) there was no legal form of marriage. Monogamy, therefore, was confined to a small minority of the people.

The wives of the patriarchs had more liberty than wives in Greece. The latter led a life of seclusion, rarely coming into contact with men, excluded even from their husbands' tables when they were entertaining friends. They spent their time in domestic work, and had the intellectual development of children. What a contrast to the "free" women of the same country, who have been held up as the ideal of female intellectual and physical development! But these were women who, seen through Christian spectacles, were the most immoral women on earth.

It must not be imagined that this is an exhaustive survey of even the most notable features in the evolution of the sexual relationships. But it is sufficient to show that the present monogamian marriage is but a development from other forms.

Each transformation is due, as with all other social institutions, to the changing economic conditions, while the present form arises out of individual private property.

While the working class are to day dependent upon the capitalist class for their livelihood, the women of this class have to depend to a large extent

UPON THE MEN

for their living. Though many women are now engaged in production, it is obvious that the vast majority must be child-bearers if the human race is to continue. Where women are employed it is chiefly before marriage, although there are thousands who have to slave in factories when they should be nursing the rising generation.

The prohibition of legal marriage among the poor, with a view to restricting the population,

has often been suggested as a remedy for poverty. But the adoption of this suggestion in Munich resulted in 50 per cent. of the births in that city being illegitimate. (Spencer Essays.)

The inability of women to find employment at wages sufficient to keep them and their children when the "breadwinner" has gone drives them into a life of prostitution. Lecky says: "The statistics of prostitution show that a great proportion of those who have fallen into it have been impelled by the

MOST EXTREME POVERTY.

in many instances verging upon starvation." The Press can publish and the clergy echo, harrowing tales of the "decaying of innocent girls," as if this was the cause of prostitution. But the root of the evil lies in the private ownership of the means of life. And we of the Socialist Party alone have the remedy. It is that all the means necessary for the production and distribution of wealth shall be owned and democratically controlled by the whole community.

The Suffragettes may continue their fight for the "emancipation" of women, but even if they achieve the limits of their aspirations, the political equality of men and women, they will still remain economically inferior to men.

The social war to day is not a sex but a class war. It is a war between the capitalist class, who own the means of life, and the working class, who, divorced from the means of production, are forced to sell themselves to the capitalist class in order to subsist. The abolition of the private property basis of society will end this war, and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth will at one stroke sweep away all preventable social evils. Prostitution implies sale, and under Socialism buying and selling cannot exist. Hence Socialism presupposes the abolition of the buying and selling of women, as of all other pillars of capitalist society.

The establishment of Socialism will remove the shackles from mankind without distinction of race or sex. The wealth of society being

COMMON PROPERTY,

women will have equal right to it with men. In this they will find their economic emancipation, for they will no longer be dependent upon any individual men for their living. Then, with the pecuniary basis of marriage swept away, true love will have an opportunity to flourish. Men and women will cohabit for love and for love alone. And when love no longer remains, instead of being tied to each other in hate, they will be free to terminate their co-habitation—for the necessity of the compulsory tie goes with the passing of the economic conditions that gave rise to it.

But as Engels says in his "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State": "What we may anticipate about the adjustment of social relations after the impending downfall of capitalist production is mainly of a negative nature and mostly confined to elements that will disappear. But what will be added? That will be decided after a new generation has come to maturity: a race of men who never in their lives have had any occasion for buying with money or other economic means of power the surrender of a woman; a race of women who have never had any occasion for surrendering to any man for other reason but love, or for refusing to surrender to their lover from fear of economic consequences. Once such people are in the world, they will not give a moment's thought to what we to-day believe should be their course. They will follow their own practice and fashion their own public opinions about the individual practice of every person—only this and nothing more." H. A. YOUNG.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR FEBRUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	2nd.	9th.	16th.	23rd.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	A. Barker	C. Elliott	C. Baggett	S. Blake
Edmonton Green 7.30	J. Roe	F. Vickers	A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park 7.30	A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	T. W. Allen
Forest Gate (Station) 3.30	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	R. Hughes
Hyde Park (Marble Arch) 7.30	A. Jacobs	B. Young	R. Fox	F. J. Rourke
Ilford (Station) 7.30	R. Fox	A. Kohn	F. Vickers	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 11.30	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	C. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn
Paddington, Prince of Wales 7.30	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	F. J. Rourke	A. Tims
Peckham Triangle 7.30	E. Lake	J. Fitzgerald	E. Lake	R. Hughes
Stoke Newington, Ribley Rd., Dalston 11.30	F. Leigh	A. Barker	T. W. Allen	F. Leigh
Tooting Broadway 7.30	C. Baggett	W. Lewington	J. Roe	A. W. Pearson
Tottenham, West Green Cr. 11.30	S. Blake	C. Baggett	H. Joy	A. Barker
Walham Green Church 7.30	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	F. Vickers
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	F. J. Rourke	R. Fox	A. Anderson	C. Ginger
	A. Kohn	F. J. Rourke	A. Hoskyns	A. Pearson
	W. Lewington	A. Anderson	A. Tims	C. Baggett
	B. Young	T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson	J. Wray
				R. Fox

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britania-rd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd, Garratt-lane. Branch meets 29, Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communications to Secretary, 97 Thorold Road, Ilford. Particulars of Branch meetings from secretary.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. at 8 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd. Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Sec., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Monds 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.

TOOTING.—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-rd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary 129, Morville-street, Bow, E. Branch meets alternate Monds 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 469, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Road, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

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THE

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OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to master under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

KARL MARX IN CURRENT CRITICISM.

THE VERDICT OF A GENERATION.

Just thirty years have passed since the body of the great path-finder was laid to rest in the grave upon Highgate Hill. Thirty years—the

The life-time of a generation—yields a fair test of the truth of the theories advanced by a thinker, and should offer an opportunity to judge a man's work in something approaching true perspective.

I cannot attempt in these lines a comprehensive survey of the work of Karl Marx. A life of sixty-five years of stress and struggle is not to be examined in a column or two. But some of the main points in Marx's work may be briefly yet profitably reviewed in the light of our present knowledge.

All kinds of opponents of Socialism profess to offer us something "more in keeping with the times." But whether it be Syndicalism or Revisionism, Co-partnership or State Capitalism, each and every one of these is seen to be fallacious when tested by the scientific theories put forward by Marx.

Karl Marx is best known, perhaps, by his work "Das Capital," a treatise on the production and circulation of commodities which, although "criticised" in hundreds of volumes by professors and other leading lights of modern society, has never been refuted.

Professor Böhm-Bawerk, the Finance Minister of Austria, urged in his "Marx and the Close of his System," that the labour system of value is wrong because Marx failed to take into account scarcity as a factor in fixing value! This expert economist might have seen in the first seven pages of "Capital" how well scarcity was allowed for. "Diamonds are of very rare occurrence on the earth's surface," wrote Marx ("Capital," p. 7), "and hence their discovery costs on an average a great deal of labour time. Consequently much labour is represented in small compass. . . . If we could succeed at a small expenditure of labour in converting carbon into diamonds, their value might fall below that of bricks." By saying a thing is scarce you can only suggest that it takes a great deal more time to get than if it was plentiful.

All the economists who have blossomed forth since Marx wrote have merely revived theories that were abandoned as useless a century ago by men like Adam Smith and David Ricardo. John Stuart Mill, who pieced together portions of many economists and gave them to the world as his "Principles of Political Economy," Prof.

Stanley Jevons, with his "Final Utility" theory, the whole Austrian school of economists with their "Marginal Utility" notions; all these, together with the more modern "seers" like Professor Marshall, really base their economics on the old theory of "Supply and Demand." The value of an article, in their idea,

is fixed by the difference between the supply of that class of goods and the demand for the same.

But Marx asked what fixes the value of an article when supply and demand are equal, and to this question no answer has yet been vouchsafed by the capitalist backs.

No wonder the well-known German social reformer and critic of Marx, Prof. Werner Sombart, has to confess that "Marx's theory of Value may perhaps be refuted, but that has not yet been done."

This Berlin Professor of political economy writes thus of Marx: "There was reason enough why Marx was able to rank so high among the social philosophers of the nineteenth century and to exercise by the side of Hegel and Darwin so great an influence on the thought of our day. He combined within himself the best philosophy of history current in his time with the knowledge of the highest forms of social life. He knew his Hegel, and he knew his Western Europe, more especially France and England. He gathered all the lines of thought that had preceded from thinkers of previous ages, and was clever enough, perhaps because of his international experience, to pay but little heed to what was accidental in national development and to lay stress on what was typical in the life of society to-day." ("Socialism and the Social Movement," p. 52).

A Grudging Tribute. Marx, together with his great co-worker, Frederick Engels, came to the conclusion that the whole of past history since the passing of primitive communism, had been a history of class struggles. These classes—at one time chattel slave owners against the helots, later barons against burghers, now capitalists against wage-labourers—all had their roots in the changing conditions of wealth production and exchange.

The material conditions, says Marx, are the foundation upon which rise all social institutions and when material conditions change so also do the institutions of society.

In his books upon capital Marx laid bare the method of robbing the wage-labourers. He showed that out of the value created by the worker's energies, the worker receives merely enough to barely subsist on. The surplus of the value created goes to the exploiting employer.

Hence there is a conflict of interests between the wage workers and the employers. The latter try to increase the amount of surplus value and the workers struggle unceasingly against their masters, and must do so while the employers have the power to extract this surplus over the wages paid.

This class struggle is the cardinal principle of the Socialist policy. And just as it was opposed in Marx's day, so now the class struggle theory is fought against by all those who wish

to blind the toilers to their true interests. Just as it was true when Marx and Engels wrote the Manifesto of the Communist Party, so now it bears the stamp of irrefutable fact.

Almost Like Prophecy. Marx showed that the progress of modern capitalism would result in a widening of the gulf that divides the employing class from the working class. He pointed out "in words which seem to many even non-Socialists like prophecy" (wrote Professor R. T. Ely in his "Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society") that wealth would concentrate into fewer hands the more the system grew.

Professor Werner Sombart, the Revisionist of Revisionists previously quoted, says on this point:—

"During the last 20 years, as we know, there has been a concentration of capital by the formation of trusts such as Marx in his boldest flights of imagination could never have dreamed of. Especially is this the case in the United States of America, where we get the best examples of these giant undertakings. According to the latest statistics, no less than 8,664 concerns which were formerly independent are now amalgamated in a few Trusts with a capital of 20,000 million dollars. Of these seven of the 'greater' industrial trusts contain 1,528 concerns formerly independent, and possess a capital of 2,663 million dollars. The six largest railway trusts are even better placed; they have a capital of 9,017 million dollars!"

The truth of the class struggle has been driven home with more tragic emphasis than ever during the last few years. The wide-spread strikes and lock-outs, the fiendish cruelty of the employers toward their rebellious slaves all over the capitalist world, has induced even capitalist authorities to "lament" the growth of "labour unrest" and of class strife.

Socialism became in Marx's hands a part of social science. The schemes of St. Simon Fourier, Cabet, and Owen were based upon abstract principles like "justice," "truth," and "right." They appealed to the "moral" side of the wealthy, and hoped to see communities established in accord with their ideals. Cabet with his "Icarie," Robert Owen with his "New Harmony" community, each thought to solve the social problem and end the social strife by his carefully planned colonies. But their failure serves as a lesson accentuating the need for science in social action instead of Utopian ideas.

Marx rescued Socialism from the hands of the Utopians and placed it upon a foundation of scientific fact. Not moral appeals, but organised political action was the way to fight the capitalists. Society, said Marx, moved not because of changing morals, but under the pressure of growing

economic forces making a change in social forms inevitable.

Even such an opponent of Marx as Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald has made the admission ("Socialism and Society," preface) that "Marx's co-ordination of historical fact and explanation of historical movement from the point of view of the Hegelian left wing brought the whole theory of Socialism from the misty dreams of vague desire to the clearly defined empire of science."

It used to be the regular custom in the party to which the above labour "leader" belongs to anathematise Marx and consign him to oblivion as a sociologist. But the place of prominence which history has tardily given Marx, the esteem which he has won in the minds of serious working men and women, have forced the I.L.P. to change their tactics and hence they cling to the name of Marx whilst outraging every principle for which Marx stood.

Mr. Keir Hardie, who derives his "economics" from Jesus Christ, says in "My Confession of Faith in the Labour Alliance": "The Labour Party practices the Marxian policy of the Class Struggle." Such a statement, of course, is utterly false. The alliance with the most bitter enemies of the working class, such as the Liberal manufacturers, for the purpose of "getting in," is certainly part of the class struggle, but the Labour Party take sides in that struggle with the masters. Even their own members, such as Philip Snowden and F. W. Jowett, have confessed to the reactionary position of their party.

Marx's whole life was guided by the principle of "No Compromise." Because of his refusal to truckle to the rulers of Germany he was hunted down and put on trial for sedition. Paper after paper was suppressed, and in their efforts to crush "the terrible Marx," the German powers even incited the French and Belgian Governments to thrust him from their shores. But how different did the leader of the British Labour Party get treated!

Karl Marx was persecuted with all the force of law, but Mr. MacDonald is especially invited to lunch with the German Emperor, an invitation which he gladly accepted.

Doesn't this alone show how false to the toilers' interest is this Labour Party? Defiance, not deference to capitalism, was Marx's motto, and he always opposed any flinching with the enemies of the Red Flag. In the early days of the International he strenuously fought against the attempt of Charles Bradlaugh to enter the organisation, because even then Bradlaugh was showing signs of joining hands with the Liberals.

Marx's exposure of the Liberal Labour leader George Howell brings home his hatred of those who acted as decoys for the masters. He did not hesitate in 1875 to oppose the union of the followers of Lassalle with the Workingmen's Party of Germany at Gotha, even though he lost many friends thereby. The Lassalleans were Utopians, and desired to inscribe on the Unity programme State Co-operation in Industry as the policy of the party. The trenchant attack of Marx remains a beacon for the toilers to-day, when men talk of "Socialist unity," but want us to sacrifice our Socialism in order to become "united."

Now and again the reactionary "leaders of Labour" to-day admit the soundness of Marx's revolutionary policy. For instance, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says in "Socialism and Society" (page 9):—

"We seem to have reached the maximum improvement which the present system can yield. Further ameliorative efforts of a purely reforming character can produce little fruit."

The main theory of the Labour leaders at present is for a legal minimum wage. Talking of his late wife's advocacy of this nostrum Mr. R. MacDonald tells us ("Margaret Ethel MacDonald: a Memoir"): "Once she said with a whimsical smile: 'When the last Wages Board will have given its last decision, we shall still have to go upon the housetops and shout with Marx, "Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."'"

Marx laboured to keep the working class upon the right road to their salvation. Amidst deepest poverty, hunted across frontiers, turned out of doors because of failure to find the rent, refused work even as a manual labourer, the

mighty proletarian thinker never wavered from the work of his life. The story of his struggles has never been fully told, but the glimpses we get of his life are sufficient to stimulate us to the fullest extent to prosecute the work of educating our fellows in Socialism with the material he placed ready to our hands, and organising them for its realisation on the basis which he so clearly indicated. A. KOHN.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

[TO THE EDITOR.]

An article appeared in the January issue of our paper under the title "The Pace That Kills" in which the writer, F.C.W., says: "If a cyclist is scared off" (the road) "he becomes a passenger the more for the bus, and another source of profit for the trust," etc.

This, to me, conveys an idea which is damaging to the revolutionary position of the S.P.G.B. The idea impressed on my mind by reading the passage is that it is as consumers (buyers) we are robbed.

I deny that a passenger is "another source of profit for the trust," who happens for the reasons given to become a passenger the more on the bus owned by the trust.

Profit is a part of surplus-value, and this is taken from the workers during the time spent in the process of production. Hence the source of profit is surplus-value. This point is made clear by Karl Marx in "Value, Price, and Profit." In that work (c. XI, p. 37) will be found the following:—

"Rent, Interest, and Industrial Profit are only different names for different parts of the surplus value of the commodity, or the unpaid labour enclosed in it, and they are equally derived from this source and from this source alone."

Even emphasized!

Those who have read this brilliant work will now understand the importance of the distinction.

On the same page you will find:—

"The surplus value or that part of the total value of the commodity in which surplus labour or unpaid labour of the workingman is realised, I call Profit. The whole of that Profit is not pocketed by the employing capitalist. The monopoly of land enables the landlord to take one part of that surplus value under the name of rent, whether the land is used for agricultural buildings or railways, or for any other productive purpose. On the other hand, the very fact that the possession of the instruments of labour enables the employing capitalist to produce surplus value, or what comes to the same, to appropriate to himself a certain amount of unpaid labour, enables the owner of the means of labour, which he lends wholly or partly to the employing capitalist—enables, in one word, the money-lending capitalist to claim for himself under the name of interest another part of surplus value, so that there remains to the employing capitalist as such only what is called industrial or commercial profit."

The distinction is clear.

F.C.W. is wrong in what he impresses on the mind of at least one of his readers.

I would suggest the substitution of the word "means" in place of "source," and the word "realising" before "profit." The passage would then read: "If a cyclist is scared off he becomes a passenger the more for the bus, and another means of realising profit for the trust," etc.

Yours fraternally,

COMRADE F. COATES.

Obviously rent, interest, and profit are all derived in the last resort from surplus labour, and as this great truth is not disputed in the article in question, Comrade Coates's anxiety for the safety of the cause is a little premature. All is not yet lost.

The sentence referred to does not indicate that we are robbed as consumers, nor does it

say that passengers are the source of the trust's profits. The comrade has simply misunderstood. The quotations from "Value, Price, and Profit" are quite gratuitous. Marx is emphasising in an elementary way to an audience of working men that labour, though not the sole source of wealth, is yet the sole source of exchange value, in opposition to Weston's argument that value was the sum of wages, plus profit, plus rent. Nicer distinctions he performs left for "Capital," contenting himself with making broad statements of fact, such as "Profit is made by selling a commodity at its value," to which, perhaps, the captious critic would object that "profit is made in the factory."

Comrade Coates has not grasped the fact that surplus labour, surplus value, and profit are not, strictly speaking, merely different names for the same thing. They are distinct stages of a process. Without the change of form, realisation, or sale of the repository of surplus value, the last stage, "profit," cannot come into being. As Marx says ("Capital," Vol. I, p. 79):—

"The leap taken by value from the body of the commodity, into the body of the gold, is the *alto mortale* of the commodity. If it falls short, then, although the commodity is not harmed, its owner decidedly is."

Surplus labour (and the same applies to all labour) does not become surplus value unless it is embodied in a use-value to someone else, and there can be no profit unless this use-value is sold. In this sense, therefore, and in this limited sense only, the act of realising surplus value is a source of profit.

Taking the bus-trust as a normal capitalist concern, it is clear that the number of fares is of vital importance to it, for on this depends its profit. Yet from Comrade Coates's bald statements one might infer that the trust would be just as prosperous if its buses ran empty! Obviously the advent of the passenger is essential to the making of profit. Each additional fare enables more surplus labour to be realised and more profit obtained, and may in consequence be not inaccurately described as a further source of profit to the trust.

The sentence disputed would not be improved by the wording proposed by Comrade Coates, which only says the same thing more awkwardly. It was, moreover, quite beside the purpose of the article to give a scientific dissertation on value. Brevity was necessary in order to confine attention to the main issue.

Notwithstanding this, it is difficult for the poor scribe to believe that the phrase could be misunderstood except by means of a deliberate mental squint. W.

AN EXPLANATION.

W. AUSTIN (Small Heath) asks us to explain the meaning of the passage in the "Communist Manifesto":—

"In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present. In communist society the present dominates the past."

Under capitalism the past dominates the present because the means of production, developed from the past, and possessed to-day by the few, dominate the lives of the producers, and forms the general structure and relations of society.

Under communism the means of production would be consciously manipulated for the benefit and happiness of the members of society. The past development and experience would then be used knowingly by the members of the communist society for their well-being. This would be the domination of the past by the present as, instead of the members being dominated by a method of production, the method of production would be controlled by them.

J. F.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. MARKS (Manchester).—Your claim that "a Socialist party cannot afford to wait until the conditions are ripe for a sound economic organisation" needs explaining before we can assent, otherwise you state the position pretty correctly. There is room in our party for all who hold with our principles and policy, and we know of nothing that is keeping you out and preventing you from putting into practice the theories you proclaim so well in your letter.

PARIS, 1871.

Once again the time is drawing near when we of the Socialist Party will celebrate that memorable event in the history of the working class, that terminated in the butchery of the workers by the hirelings of the capitalist class. I speak of the Commune of Paris, 1871.

But, it may be asked, why should we, the working class in England, care a straw about the welfare of the workers of Paris? Why should we commemorate an event that took place in a foreign land forty-two years ago? Is not the Parisian worker our enemy? Is he not our competitor in the industrial world? Has not France for centuries been the great antagonist of England? Was it not Napoleon III. who, after his ignominious defeat at Sedan, suggested to the victorious German that they should settle their differences and make war against the "common enemy"—England? And was it not against France that Nelson and Wellington gained their most memorable victories?

But the revolutionaries of England recognise that, while we are compelled to compete with the workers of France in the industrial field, as with the workers of Germany and all other countries, we have also to compete with the English workers here, and the French and German workers are

NO MORE OUR ENEMIES

than our fellow wage slaves of Britain.

Yet, while we are compelled to compete with each other in the labour market, in spite of this there exists a common interest amongst the working class, an interest that recognises no distinction of race or sex, and that unity of interest is the abolition of the system which compels us to fight for a mere existence. This common interest attaches to the whole working class just as the capitalist class, who combat each other for the world's markets, have a common cause in keeping the working class in subjection.

Therefore we commemorate the establishment of the Commune of Paris because it was the first successfully organised attempt by the working class to carry on the administration of affairs in their own interests, and although the success was only temporary, it is none the less a landmark of tremendous importance in working-class history.

It cannot be said that all those who participated in the establishment of the Commune were Socialists—far from it. But circumstances had arisen which necessitated the taking over of the administration of affairs in the interests of the working class of Paris, and considering the suddenness with which they were called upon to act, the success of the mighty effort, fleeting though it was, constitutes

A MONUMENT OF TRIUMPH

in the traversed path of the revolutionary idea. Prior to the establishment of the Commune France had been at war with Prussia, and after the capitulation of Paris the French Government notified the National Guard of Paris that their services would be no longer required, and that their pay would forthwith cease. Now the workers of Paris, enrolled as the National Guard, had been relying on their military pay for their livelihood, the factories and workshops having closed and all business being at a standstill through the recent events. The workers were therefore faced with starvation, and the possibility of an uprising was anticipated by the Government. The latter, never daring to issue orders for the disarmament of Paris, sent troops in the night to take the guns, which had been paid for by public subscription and belonged, not to the French Government, but to the people of Paris.

But cunning as this ruse was, it ended in a fiasco. The guns were seized, it is true, but no adequate means of transport having been provided, a delay ensued, enabling the people to realise the true end of affairs, and the guns were surrounded, the soldiers and the people fraternised, and the Government

LOST THEIR OPPORTUNITY.

And now that "crime" the worst of all possible crimes in the eyes of the exploiting class—the "violation of the sacred rights of

private property," took place.

This was the terrible "crime" of the Communards. Faced with starvation and with no guarantee from the Government that their wives and children would be provided for until such time as industry was restored to its normal state, these workingmen decided to take the administration of the affairs of Paris into their own hands, and carry on things in their own interests. Was ever a saner thing enacted by any people?

And was Paris over run by thieves, and was lawlessness rampant? Did the women rush hither and thither firing public buildings with petroleum? Were the remnants of the aristocracy that remained shot or butchered in cold blood? Were the prisons full and the "pubs" the scenes of drunken revelry? Did the working-class revenge itself by the wholesale slaughter of those who had kept them in subjection? Did they withhold the means of life from those who had formerly withheld them from the workers? No! But these were the false accusations that were hurled at the heads of the

ALL TOO INNOCENT

Communards by their enemies and spread by the capitalist Press throughout the length and breadth of capitalist civilisation in order to cover the bloody vengeance the French master class had determined upon.

But what were the facts? During the two months of the Commune's reign crime was practically unknown, and Paris had never been so orderly as in those days. The wants and requirements of the people were administered in a most admirable manner, considering the circumstances, and for the "crime" of refusing to die of hunger, refusing to let their wives and children cry for bread, Paris, two months later, was a veritable sea of blood—blood of the Communards, men, women, and children.

And now, fellow workers, look at the price they paid for many lessons which we to-day have to guide us in the fight for emancipation.

Twenty-five thousand men, women, and children killed during the battle and after; three thousand at least dead in the prisons, the pontons, the forts, or in consequence of maladies contracted during their captivity; thirteen thousand seven hundred concerned, most of them for life; seventy thousand women, children, and old men deprived of their natural supporters or thrown out of France; one hundred and eleven thousand victims at least—that is the balance sheet of the bourgeois vengeance for the solitary insurrection of the 18th March."

So wrote Lissagaray in his history of the Commune—a history teeming with lessons for the fight that is being waged by the proletariat of all countries.

WHATEVER CAPITALISM

has raised its hideous head.

For years after the Commune was dead the "trial" of the men, women, and children who participated in it continued, and the ferocity of the capitalist class, unsurpassed even by Nero, never abated. Hundreds were sentenced to death. Thousands continued to be transported. Hundreds were torn from their wives, mothers from their children, and transported to New Caledonia, or imprisoned in the fortresses. No wonder hundreds were driven mad! All the ferocity of the savage reappeared in the modern "civilised" bourgeois in an endeavour to crush the spirit of the workers and so ensure the safety of their own class to continue their parasitic lives.

But did these tortures meted out to the defenders of the Commune kill the revolutionary spirit of these people? No. And the names of those who were afterwards tried for complicity in the Commune will be handed down to posterity as the heroes and heroines of those days of struggle. Conspicuous amongst these was Louise Michel, whose only crime was that of having tended the sick and wounded under the fire of the Versailles army. This heroine faced her accusers in court and accepted full responsibility for

EVERY FALSE CHARGE

they brought against her. Sentence of death was asked for by the prosecuting counsel, but transportation in a fortress was the sentence. She knew the minds of those who manipulated the mock trials, and neither asked for nor expected

leniency from these barbarians.

Louise Michel did not stand alone. It was Ferré who, before being found guilty and sentenced to death, commenced to relate a few of the events that led up to the establishment of the Commune, but the court refused to hear his defence. So he concluded thus: "A member of the Commune, I am in the hands of its victors. They want my head; they may take it. I will never save my life by cowardice. Free I have lived, so will I die. I add but one word. Fortune is capricious; I confide to the future the care of my memory and my revenge."

And posterity will remember not only Ferré, but all those nameless ones who fell in that fight for liberty. Every year thousands of workers march to Pere la Chaise cemetery and pay their tribute to those who fell in the Commune. Thousands march through, dropping their wreaths on the huge grave in memory of the fallen, and thousands of menacing troops stand round with bayonets fixed, ready to

RE-ENACT THE SCENES

of the closing days of May, '71, should any disturbance arise.

But geographical circumstances prevent us from presenting ourselves at the graves of the victims of capitalist vengeance, and we have to content ourselves with holding public meetings to commemorate that event and teach the many lessons bequeathed us by the Communards, and for which they so dearly paid.

Fellow workers, read the story of one of the greatest tragedies in the history of your class, as narrated by Lissagaray, who took an active part in it. He compiled his work chiefly from the records of the enemies of the Commune. If, having read this, there remains a spark of respect for those who oppress you, then you are not worthy of the name of men and women.

Above all, let not the efforts of the Communards and the many lessons they have left us fall upon barren soil. Let us examine and heed every detail of success and failure that we may be better able to continue the work for which so many thousands gave their lives. No local uprisings in the future, for such allow the dominant class to combine, not only nationally, but internationally, and so concentrate their forces in one locality. Let us organise throughout the five continents, wherever capitalism has wound its vile tentacles, and then all the forces of reaction must fade and crumble before our MIGHTY ONSLAUGHT.

And what if the capitalist class once again consolidate their forces to crush the revolutionary spirit of the rising proletariat? What if they should endeavour to re-enact the scenes of '71? Far better another 30,000 victims than the perpetuation of a system that calls annually for the blood of many times this number. Has not the blood of the working class deluged the plains of half the world in a generation? Have not capitalist interests sacrificed myriads, from Russia to Putumayo, and from China to the Transvaal?

And cannot the international proletariat, who have faced and torn each other in the interests of their masters on the battle fields for once combat the common enemy on their own behalf?

If the Social Revolution is not ushered in in peace, then the onus will not be upon the shoulders of the working class. It is they who have suffered for ages; it is they who suffer to-day. And it is because we are suffering the ill and wrongs inflicted upon us by our oppressors that we rise in revolt to free ourselves from this tyranny.

But before we strike the blow for victory let us be assured that all our forces are equal to the occasion; that we all understand our true historic mission; and that we may go forward fearless of failure and confident of victory.

Then no power on earth will ever stem the tide of the rising international proletariat.

H. A. YOUNG.

Pekham readers should note that the local Branch has taken premises at 41, Albert road, which are open every evening. Lectures will be delivered every Sunday, admission free.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
193, Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C.
Jan. 31, 1913.

A CALL TO ARMS.

The capture of this political machine is not to be the work of a moment. It must be captured by siege, not carried by storm. Essential as organisation would be for the last method, if

Strange inversions of the natural order of things, one would think. Yet they seem to have no significance to millions upon millions who should be the first to demand their meaning.

Post Free	1½d.
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JMW-GM

(a) That admission to future International

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE.

THE POST OFFICE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE "WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC."

THE paternal care of the authorities for the tion in the following exordium to telephone girls. morals of their white slaves reaches its culmina-

"Under the title of 'Forewarned is Forearmed' the girls are warned that they should never speak to strangers, either men or women, in the street, in shops, in stations, in trains, in lonely country roads, or in places of amusement, and should never ask the way of any but officials on duty, such as policemen, railway officials, or postmen, or loiter or stand about alone in the street, and if accosted by a stranger (whether man or woman) should walk as quickly as possible to the nearest policeman. The pamphlet states that a girl should never stay to help a woman who apparently faints at her feet in the street, but should immediately call a policeman to her aid.

"They are advised never to accept an invitation to join a Sunday School or Bible Class given them by strangers, even if they are wearing the dress of a sister or a nun, or are in clerical dress, and are emphatically warned never to accept a 'lift' offered by a stranger, in a motor, or taxicab, or vehicle of any description, and never to go to an address given them by a stranger, or enter any house, restaurant, or place of amusement, on the invitation of a stranger.

"Girls, the pamphlet states, should never accept sweets, food, a glass of water, or small flowers offered them by a stranger; neither should they buy scents or other articles at the door, as so many things may contain drugs. They are also warned against taking situations, either in England or abroad, through advertisement or a strange registry office, without first making exhaustive enquiries, and against going to London or any large town for even one night without knowing of some safe lodging."

("Reynolds's," 5.1.13.)

Above all, beware of Sunday Schools and Bible Classes!

Poor girls! they scarcely dare breathe. No wonder some of them scent chloroform in the flutter of a handkerchief from the other side of the street, and see an attempted abduction in every admiring glance or casual greeting, sending the police on wild goose chases that end only in increased respect for the imaginative powers of the "victims."

But in face of the terrible dangers that beset the innocent girls at every street corner, what is the administration's attitude? The following from "The Star" of Feb. 13 indicates that it did not mind throwing young girls upon the streets late at night when it suited the purpose of its own exploitation of wage-slaves to do so. Perpend!

"P.M.G. AND 'ADMINISTRATIVE ERROR' AT GERRARD EXCHANGE.

"Mr. Bowerman asked the Postmaster-General whether he was aware that female operators under 17 years of age are employed at the Gerrard telephone exchange until 10 p.m., and in many cases after the completion of their duty are compelled to travel across London up to a late hour to reach their homes.

"Mr. Herbert Samuel said he regretted to find that the facts were as stated in the question, and he was obliged to the hon. member for drawing his attention to an administrative error at this exchange. Instructions had been given that girls under the age of 18 should not be employed in London telephone exchanges later than 8.15 p.m."

Perhaps! But the Government's profession of concern for the welfare of the girls it exploits is shown to be the sheerest hypocrisy by the following excerpt from the "Daily Chronicle" of 22.1.13.

"POST OFFICE 'SPIES'."

"A system of 'spying' alleged to have been adopted by the Post Office to test the work of telephone operators was described yesterday by Miss Howse, a Manchester telephonist, to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Employment in the Post Office.

"There was a separate staff, she said, not allowed to mix with the general staff, who from another part of the building could watch every movement of an operator, timing the exact number of moments occupied by each movement, and thus gauging whether seconds were wasted. A complete record was kept, the operator not knowing she was under observation. She was prohibited indulging in private conversation, and the supervisors saw to it that the regulation was not broken."

Such intense exploitation and deadly monotony is the surest generator of an unhealthy craving for excitement after working hours—and the capitalists' only remedy is—an idiotic circular!

TRADE INCREASE AND POVERTY.

FROM time to time we see glowing accounts of the progress of trade in the columns of the capitalist Press. A ready sale is found for volumes that describe this progress in detail and calculate future possibilities. The worker is expected to rejoice because markets expand. As the red-herring of commercial rivalry is dangled before him, his breast swells with patriotic pride because the cheapness of his native commodities—produced by the cheap labour of his class—has gained preference in the world's market.

"Our trade has gone up by leaps and bounds." "Our exports are the highest on record." "We have not yet reached the crest of the wave, and we look forward to greater trade activities, higher profits, increased wealth." So runs the chant of the "Chiozza Monkeys" to the "commercial spirit," which is the capitalist God Almighty.

In monotonous repetition for a hundred years trade has risen and fallen like the mercury in a barometer. Statisticians have recorded and economists have propheesied; but just as the weather expert is powerless to add to the total sunshine, or even to correctly forecast the weather for more than a few days, so all the experts and captains of industry, bewildered and paralysed with every crisis, can neither prevent markets from contracting, nor predict the state of trade a month hence. Every trade crisis up to the present, falling like a bolt from the blue, has found them busy with favourable estimates of future prosperity.

The engineer who sets up a machine in the modern factory is expected to understand its parts, no matter how intricate they may be. But the capitalist neither controls the mechanism of trade, nor yet understands it. Periodically it gets out of gear, and millions of workers are plunged into extreme poverty. The Bank Act is suspended and prayers are offered up in the churches for the revival of trade. Having done so much, the boasted "directive ability" can only wait till the fever subsides.

Of course there are political quacks who blame the fiscal policy of the day. It is easily shown, however, that crises are no respecters of fiscal systems, that bad trade falls periodically on the world's market and on every capitalist country, no matter whether free trade or protectionist.

Trade rises and falls in monotonous rhythm, now sweeping the workers into the mines and factories, next throwing them back on the streets workless and starving. Side by side with rise and fall, with ever-increasing wealth, powers to produce wealth, growing luxury, statistics of trade that make new records on an ascending scale, there exists in unbroken continuity—the poverty of the working class.

The history of the working class during the 19th century is a record of poverty—caused by robbery, for an idle class cannot obtain wealth by other means. In every period, whether trade was good or bad, the effects of working class poverty—discontent—was in evidence. Machine smashers, co-operators, the early trade unionists and the Chartists, were all engaged in the same desperate cause, fighting poverty. In one passage in "Social England" Mr. J. E. Symes writes: "Hitherto the working class had gained little by the series of inventions and discoveries that characterised the half century before the Reform Bill. The wealth of England had been doubled; but the wages for most kinds of labour had hardly, if at all, increased, and the conditions under which the work was done had in

many respects deteriorated. Children were plentiful at a penny a day; they were often swept into the factories when they could hardly walk."

From the Reform Bill onward the wealth of the idle class has increased enormously. As Lord Rosebery said in 1910, "capital is being sent abroad because there is so much of it available. We have enough for ourselves and to spare." Trade, measured by imports, had risen from 64½ millions in 1800 to 890 millions in 1908, yet so little does increased prosperity affect the working class that Mr. Lloyd George declared in 1911 that the aggregate amount of poverty was greater to-day than it had ever been in the history of our country.

When trade rises the wealth of the capitalist class increases more rapidly. Whether trade is good or bad they continue their robbery, adding to their wealth all the time. Trade benefits only the capitalist class. The bulk of society—the working class—produce and distribute all wealth; they are not assisted in any way by trade. Instead, they are hindered, because production is stopped when the market is choked, instead of when the requirements of the workers are satisfied.

The capitalist levies tribute on the workers; trade exists for the sole purpose of collecting that tribute—it serves no other purpose. Human beings provide themselves with the necessities of life for thousands of years before trade came into existence. It is not trade that gives us the necessities of life to-day any more than it gave them to our forefathers in those distant ages, but it is man's labour applied to the natural material alone which supplies them.

Because the land, mines, factories, and means of transport belong to the capitalist class, the workers are left with nothing but their labour-power—the value-imparting energy, which, of itself, cannot produce a pin's value without the nature-given material to expend it upon. That labour-power the capitalist must have. Tools and machinery do not operate of themselves, and the capitalist hates work like poison. He therefore buys labour-power—through managers and foremen, because any sort of contact with "honest toil" is obnoxious to him. A bargain is struck with the worker, who is hurried into acceptance by the knowledge that it is the only way by which he can obtain the necessities of life, and, further, that the supply of labour-power exceeds the demand. The energy that he brings to the market is bought by the capitalist at a price which fluctuates around its cost of production. The capitalist makes no distinction between commodities: the law that fixes the price of pig-iron or sides of bacon, determines for him the price of the human energy he buys on the labour market. But human energy applied to the nature-given material creates value—more value than it has consumed in its own production, in other words, the cost of production of the labourer represents a lower value than that which he adds to the raw material, when he transforms it into useful articles (or, by changing its position, renders it available where it is needed) to be sold for the benefit of the capitalist. The difference between the value of the necessities of life obtained by one worker and the value he adds to raw material by his labour is not easily seen, but a view of the industrial field, by means of statistics that show the actual distribution of wealth and the relative numbers of both classes, shows it to be enormous.

According to Mr. Chiozza Money, the working class, numbering 38 millions, get approximately one-third of the wealth produced, while the capitalist class of six or seven millions luxuriate on two-thirds.

No wonder they boast of their trade, when it enables them to levy a toll like this on the working class! No wonder that they want the worker to believe that their prosperity means his prosperity! No wonder they are ever asserting that man cannot provide for himself without trade and commerce! They fear that the worker will wake up to the fact that their prosperity means nothing to him; that the intricate mechanism of trade can be dispensed with when the means of life cease to belong to a class whose only function is robbery, and whose only right is the armed might they control through the political machine.

JOTTINGS.

SEVERAL ruffians have lately appeared upon the surface of the hitherto tranquil sea of Lib-Labism. The Labour Party are apparently getting tired of being led by the nose into various positions of ridicule, and are now protesting against the treatment as a poor return for the support they have so generously given the Liberals.

Up to now they have implicitly believed in the sincerity of the Government, and it is a matter fruitful of consternation to them to suddenly discover that they have been fooled all the time.

The latest sell is the throwing out of the Franchise Bill, upon which the Labour Party built such great hopes, which were so disastrously shattered. Even Keir Hardie felt compelled to chide the Government because it had destroyed his faith in its honest intentions. As he pathetically remarked in the House of Commons: "In common with the women outside, I trusted implicitly in the word of the Prime Minister. I cannot do so now."

They call it "The Great Betrayal." Betrayal of what? The Labour Party? Rats! It was a kidding game all through, but the Labour Party could not see it.

Now, it seems, there is to be "no more flirting with Liberalism." (They admit the connection, you see!) Does this mean that henceforth the Labour Party are going on independent lines?

Notwithstanding the resolution adopted at the recent conference to the effect that no support be given to other parties under pain of censure, it is difficult to see how they can remain independent in view of their identical interests. Members of the party will support the Liberals in the future as in the past. Naturally they are sore at their continual disappointments. This, however, is not troubling the Government, as, after a little reflection, the Labourites will come to heel. Speeches made by Labour members on Liberal platforms indicate that they are with them in spirit, as well as in policy. The following is characteristic.

In November last Mr. A. Stanley, M.P., speaking at a Liberal meeting, said "he supported the Government because it had done more good work than any previous Government, and he was not prepared to endanger its position so as to put the Tories into office." ("Daily News," 16.11.12.) This is precisely the Labour Party's position. We have continued to point out that the Labour Party, ever since its inception, has been in the House of Commons only on sufferance; that it depended for its existence upon the goodwill of Liberals. Their interests are bound up indissolubly together, and to attempt to run counter to the Liberals would be to invite disaster and to jeopardise their existence as a party at the first general election. This view is amply borne out by Philip Snowden himself. Speaking at the Caxton Hall on behalf of Proportional Representation (28.1.13) he admitted that "at least five-sixths of the Labour members of the House of Commons held their seats because of the electoral support which has been given by other political parties." (There are others, then?) "If the forty Labour members in the House of Commons under our present electoral system had to face three-cornered contests in the next election, I am perfectly certain that not half a dozen of them would be returned. There is not a constituency in the country where we could return a Labour candidate if we had to oppose the combined opposition of the other political parties. We have a system under which the Labour Party represents twenty per cent. of the electorate, and yet it is within the power of our political opponents to prevent that twenty per cent. from getting a single representative in the House of Commons. You now have forty Labour members dependent upon the goodwill and support of other political parties, and they know it. Now I will leave it to you to conceive how that knowledge must affect the action of those members in the House. They cannot be independent. They cannot consider

the interests of the labour element of the community only." (Italics mine.)

In other words, it is not a Labour party.

Whilst Snowden may have cleared the air a bit, yet what he has stated is nothing new. We pointed it out years ago. Its only redeeming feature is that they now admit that which they have always strenuously denied—that they do not represent the working class. On their own showing the Labour Party, as representative of Trade Unionism, is untrustworthy; to the worker seeking political freedom it is a menace.

This admission, coupled with recent events, implies a complete surrender. Their boast of a new determination to pursue an independent policy is not only laughable, it is hypocritical.

The feature that marked the splendid achievement of Captain Scott in reaching the South Pole, was that he blamed his failure to return to safety upon God. From the point of view of science this implies a weakness. It is weak in that, believing in the supernatural, he could not do full justice to that science on whose behalf he was venturing, and in whose conclusions the supernatural has no place. It was weak, also, in that it implied a contradiction. Equipped, as he must have been, with a certain knowledge of geological and meteorological science (which alone is sufficient to explain why scientists reject the theory of an "all-wise" Providence) he yet submitted to what was, to him, the most powerful factor of all—supernatural intervention. Which brings us to the question: If Captain Scott and his party had been completely successful, who would have got the credit, God or Scott?

Speaking of religion, one hears from time to time a wail go up from the churches, bemoaning the apathy of the masses of the people to the doctrine which is so assiduously handed out for their assimilation. The mass of the people have ceased to trouble about the "spirituality and immortality" of the soul. This is causing great concern to the dispensers of the aforesaid commodity. The Bishop of Northampton in his Lenten Pastoral says: "The only topic fit for a Christian pulpit is the Gospel of Jesus Christ, yet it appears to be the one topic that fails to draw. Crowds will gather in so-called 'places of worship' to hear the authority of the Bible derided, the leading dogmas of Christianity attacked, the moral law superseded, and its tremendous sanctions called in question; they will encourage by foolish applause political and Socialistic appeals, harangues on the latest craze or the latest scandal, but the unadulterated Gospel leaves them cold and unemotional."

All of which indicates the approaching demise of superstitious dogmas. This is due in a great measure to the spread of knowledge of the world in which we live. But especially have the working class become indifferent to religious teaching, because they are more concerned with trying to keep "body and soul" together in their present insecurity of existence, without speculating as to what will be their portion in the dim obscurity of a future state. The workers are beginning to find out that the Church is on the side of those who exploit them, who, in fact, sanction the system wherein the worker is taught "obedience to our civil and ecclesiastical superiors" so as to keep him in a condition of meekness and subjection. As Mr. Frederic Harrison, in his latest book, "The Evolution of Positive Religion," points out: "The Church as a body, officially, and apart from a few isolated persons, sticks to its masters—the governing majority—and to its 'patrons'—the rich owners of livings. There is not, and there never has been in Christendom, a communion which was socially, morally, and politically, so closely identified with the governing classes of the State."

One does not expect, of course, the Bishop to be acquainted with the teachings of Marx and Engels. He would learn that all our political, moral, religious, ethical, and philosophical ideas

have their origin, not in God, but in material conditions. The way in which the various necessities of life are produced determines to a great extent a man's outlook upon life and his relation to his fellow men. As the modes of production are constantly changing, so are the moral, religious, and ethical ideas of men.

This factor it is which explains the fewer and fewer in the congregations and the increasing poverty of the churches, despite their backing by the moneyed class.

Attempts have been made to coerce the people back to the churches and chapels by the introduction of variety entertainments on a Sunday afternoon—cinematograph displays and even rag-time dances; but it has had no appreciable effect upon the attendance. To quote from the S.P.G.B. pamphlet "Socialism and Religion": "Under all its multifarious forms the modern mission of religion is to cloak the hideousness and injustice of social conditions and keep the exploited meek and submissive."

It is the historic mission of the working class to free itself of wage-slavery and its accompanying superstitions. Socialism is the antidote to religion, and a continued application of its principles upon the understanding of the workers will in time secure, not only freedom from all forms of superstition, but complete possession of the means of life and the consequent disappearance of parasitism, both clerical and secular.

A teacher of English, in order to disprove the charge that high school pupils know little about the really vital things that are going on around them, gave a test in which she asked for definitions of such terms as "tariff," "reciprocity," and "the Labour problem." In the paper of a fifteen-year-old girl she found this: "The Labour problem is how to keep the working class happy without paying them enough to live on."

TOM SALA.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

An Economic Class is held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8 o'clock. Will those who have nothing to learn come and teach?

A Central Speakers' Class has been established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes are held at the Head Office, 193, Gray's Inn Road, every Saturday evening at 7.30. It is urged upon all comrades to attend.

COMMUNE MEETINGS:

WILL TAKE PLACE ON

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19th AT 8 p.m.

AT

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AND ON

SUNDAY, MARCH 17th AT 8 p.m.

AT

LATCHMERE BATHS (large hall)

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Gold and Prices," by Professor W. J. Ashley. 1s. London: Longmans, Green.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MARCH.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	A. Kohn	A. Barker	J. Roe	C. Baggett
Edmonton Green 7.30	J. Elliot	F. Vickers	F. W. Stearn	J. Fitzgerald
Finbury Park 7.30	C. Gatter	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station) 3.30	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	A. Kohn
Hyde Park (Marble Arch) 7.30	C. Parker	T. W. Allen	C. Gatter	C. Parker
Ilford (Station) 7.30	F. Vickers	A. Anderson	F. Vickers	A. Kohn
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 7.30	F. Stearn	A. Leslie	B. Young	A. Gatter
" " 11.30	A. W. Pearson	C. Baggett	F. J. Rourke	J. G. Stone
" " 7.30	A. Kohn	C. Parker	A. Leslie	W. Lewington
Paddington, Prince of Wales 11.30	A. Timms	R. Fox	F. Leigh	S. Blake
Walsingham, Ely Rd. 11.30	C. Baggett	F. J. Rourke	A. Timms	R. Fox
Tooting Broadway 7.30	S. Blake	J. Fitzgerald	C. Baggett	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 7.30	J. Roe	A. Timms	H. Joy	F. Vickers
Walham Green Church 7.30	F. J. Rourke	A. Timms	R. Fox	A. W. Pearson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn. 7.30	T. W. Allen	J. G. Stone	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns
" " 11.30	E. Lake	C. Elliott	A. Baiker	F. W. Stearn
" " 7.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Kohn	W. Lewington	A. Pearson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	R. Fox	W. Lewington	T. W. Allen	A. Timms
" " 7.30	J. Fitzgerald	C. Gatter	A. W. Pearson	F. J. Rourke

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britannia-rd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield rd., Garratt-lane. Branch meets 29, Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Waltham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communication to Secretary, 97 Thorold Road, Ilford. Particulars of Branch meetings from Secretary.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. at 3.30, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd. Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Sec., Ashlea House School, 150 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-rd., Newington Green. Branch meets Monds 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.

TOOTING.—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-rd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets Mondays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary 129, Morville-street, Bow, E. Branch meets alternate Monds. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 450, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Road, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

WORTHING.—G. Stoner, Sec., 31 Southfield-road, Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets alternate Tues. 8.30 at Newland Rd. Coffee Rooms.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, well-being, equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

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THE WORLD WORKERS

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

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LONDON, APRIL 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SOCIALISM AND ULTIMATE ORIGINS.

HOW SCIENCE IS PROSTITUTED TO CAPITALIST INTERESTS.

EVERY scientific discovery that helps us to understand Nature is of interest to the Socialist. Socialism is grounded in science, and being a comparatively new philosophy is forced to be complete because, when, by means of the Materialist Conception of History, the Socialist has explained the growth and development of Society, he is called upon to explain every physical and natural phenomenon, even to the existence of life itself. Biology has its materialist conception in the "struggle for existence"; life and the resulting struggle being engendered by the conditions existing previously, that can also be explained from a materialist basis. In one sense the Socialist is only concerned with the "class struggle," but the scientist, as well as the priest and politician, is in the pay of the capitalist, and is expected to perform his share of the general work of mystifying the working class.

For centuries the only explanation of life and nature has been provided by religion, but religion has lost its hold on the majority of the workers. Nevertheless, nature's methods and laws still remain unexplained to them. The discoveries of scientists and the generalisations that follow them are filtered through the capitalist Press and cheap magazines with criticism and comment calculated to discredit them if they conflict with orthodox dogma.

To keep the workers ignorant on all questions is obviously to the interest of the capitalist class and those who serve them. For that reason the worker who seeks information should go to the actual authorities themselves. Darwin can only be understood from his own works; those who have tried to improve on them, either through design or through incompetency, have invariably failed. Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific Socialism, have never been improved upon, because the working-class position as laid down by them was, and still is, complete. The S.P.G.B. is organised on that position, and up to the present has discovered no reason for the slightest deviation.

The scientist—for a consideration—endeavours to reconcile opposites: science with religion. The B.S.P., I.L.P., and Fabian Society attempt the same reconciliation with regard to Socialism and religion, and with the same object in view—a place in the sun, a seat in the House, or a soft job in some Government department. But in spite of their attempts at reconciliation, the original works still remain irreconcilable.

Scientific discoveries invariably go to strengthen materialist conceptions; they sometimes bring the whole question of ultimate origins under discussion. At first the scientists range themselves on either side, some favouring while others oppose the materialist concept; but what the worker is finally asked to believe (chiefly on trust) is that the discovery does not clash with

original superstitions, but in reality strengthens and makes them more clear.

The supposed discovery by Sir W. Ramsey is an instance. He claims to have created matter out of "immaterial ether." The "London Budget" published an account of the supposed discovery under the heading: "Turning Energies into Matter," and summed up the whole question in the following paragraph.

"Rather the greater effect of results of researches in this direction would be from a pechycical and ethical standpoint, confirming what has been urged by small bands of advanced thinkers. That the materialist conception of not only science, but of the whole world is a fallacy. Mrs. Eddy's contention that the material world about us is merely apparent and non-existent seems to be a long way vindicated."

In other words, scientists have succeeded in creating matter; the existence of matter is a fallacy.

The pseudo, newspaper scientist, with an apparent and non-existent tongue in an unreal cheek, propounds theories on the origin of matter while discrediting its actual existence. No doubt his salary is just as unreal. His employer would certainly be justified in ignoring his existence when it was due, if he did not know that such piffle is written in his class interest.

The scientist accepts matter as he finds it; he never thinks of questioning its reality in the laboratory. To him matter is an aggregation of atoms. He knows the relative weights of the atoms that make up the different elements. Dalton was the first to observe that elements combine with each other only in certain fixed proportions by weight, and he concluded that their ultimate atoms must bear to one another the same relationship of weight. The atom of hydrogen gas is the lightest known, and is taken as the unit by which to measure the rest. The scientist utilises that standard of measurement and the results always justify its adoption.

Although disagreeing as to the nature of the atom, no scientist denies its existence. Professor Thomson affirms the existence of atoms when he says: "Within the last few years improvement in methods, giving more direct information of the atom was almost entirely due to the fact that we had electrified it."

The students of Nature in the Grecian period came to the conclusion that all matter was the same matter, the difference in the elements being due to the difference in size, weight, and formation of the atoms that composed them. They arrived at this conclusion merely by common observation, without the methods and appliances of modern science. They saw that a garment soaked with water parted with it gradually when exposed to wind and sun, that

a ring worn on the finger was reduced in weight by friction, the particles lost being so small that they were unable to detect them. They found this process common to all substances and concluded that matter was composed of atoms. More than 2,000 years afterwards Dalton verified their conclusions by discovering a method of weighing atoms. To-day scientists are electrifying them. Both these performances have confirmed the truth of what was postulated by the Greeks—a glowing testimony to their powers of observation and deduction.

It does not in the least detract from their intelligence that the modern scientist claims to split up the atom itself into still smaller particles and suggests that they are merely centres of energy. For he only rings the changes and tries to prove that matter is a manifestation of force instead of force being a manifestation or property of matter. The existence of both matter and force is never called in question, on the contrary, it is affirmed, even by those who deny its reality.

The capitalist class, owning an apparent world, real or not, do not value it the less because pseudo-scientists and faith healers say its material existence is a fallacy. They know it is better to be capitalists than wage slaves. There is no fallacy about possessing a share in the means of wealth production and living by exploitation. It matters nothing to the capitalist whether the universe was created by a supreme being or whether Gustave Le Bon says that "the ether of the universe is apparent to us as matter when it is whirled and pulsed into vortex rings." The essential point is always admitted—that matter is apparent and not "merely apparent," whatever difference or distinction there may be.

Mrs. Eddy's contention that matter is non-existent is destructive of her particular religion, for there is nothing miraculous about "the faith that moves mountains" if the mountains are not real. The everyday actions of faith healers and pseudo scientists are a direct contradiction to the doctrines they profess to believe and teach. They continue to act exactly as other human beings do, in adapting themselves to their material surroundings—material interests dominate all their actions.

From another quarter comes the assertion that mind is the only thing of which we are certain, of which we know anything at all; and with it also comes the admission that all we do know about mind are the impressions received by it of a material world. Thus is confirmed what Frederick Engels so ably recorded: we know a thing by its properties. The mind manifests itself by its peculiar property, conception. That conception is a materialist conception, and answers the test by results everywhere within our experience.

We are seriously told that "the scientist of to-day knows a million times more than the ordinary human." The same old tale; the same priestly gag on the common sense of the workers. We know; put your trust in us; have faith, was their cry and is still their cry. Yet with all their knowledge, with all their ability and intellect, they cannot make out an intelligible case to the "ordinary human." Whatever they know of ultimate origins, they trip and splutter like babies over their mother tongue. Their columns of trash are as worthless as polar expeditions. They assert and reassert with provisos that are flat contradictions of their premises. Their own statements contain their own refutation. The "ordinary human," gifted merely with common sense, would never contradict himself in one breath so obviously as did Dr. Alfred Wallace when he said that "he and Sir William Crookes knew of the existence of phenomena which proved the existence of life without matter, as it were, certainly without ordinary matter." As if matter could be more or less matter because it was not ordinary matter!

The scientist's concern may be with molecules, atoms, or electrons. Ours is with the necessities of life. Theirs with the elements, the ultimate origins; ours with substance and social arrangements and relationships. Their wants are supplied, their position secure. The working class are merely receptacles more or less filled with energy, to be emptied into the mills of the capitalists, piling up wealth to be used by them in luxury, vice, charity, suppression, what they will; in a word, for everything that is degrading to humanity—the senile decay of an idle class and the perpetuation of the most abject form of slavery the world has ever known.

Genuine scientific discoveries clear up the mysteries of nature. Those who understand nature know best how to conform to her laws and make the most of life. The working class are kept in ignorance of the significance of scientific discoveries; numbed and bewildered by social forces they do not understand, they submit tamely to the yoke of capitalism. Though they are in the majority, and can snap their chains more easily and with less suffering than they experience by continuing their submission, they prefer the latter course.

Once the working class understand the real nature of capitalist society, they will realise how their lives are being wasted. Their united strength would become manifest to them, and the class that has to hire all its champions, from the policeman to the scientist, would shake with fear as revolution became, not "merely apparent," but inevitable. F. F.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. W. HOLT (Nottingham).—We agree with Marx's "Discourse on Free Trade." Free Trade in England helped make it the "workshop of the world." But what it did for capitalists here Protection did for those abroad. Your statement that Free Trade "widens the breach between Capital and Labour" is false. It is not fiscal systems that cause the "breach," but the development of the productive forces, as Marx shows in "Capital."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Call" (New York).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"On the Evolution of Life from Fire." E. M. Darken. Wellington, New Zealand. 6d.

FIRST STEPS IN SOCIALISM.

WHO ARE THE WORKING CLASS?

Who are the working class? Many members of the working class, who dress after the fashion of their masters, and ape their manners, would repel with lively indignation and scorn, the suggestion that they belong to "the backbone of the country," the working class. They think that between these "hewers of wood and drawers of water" and the "upper ten" there exists a class whose fortunes and interest are with neither.

The idea is fallacious. Manners may make the man, or nine tailors, working in harmony and with might and main, may accomplish the same feat, but neither manners nor the tailors give a man his class status. Nor can the nature of the person's daily occupation draw the line of class distinction, though the fact of any occupation at all being followed goes far in the direction of placing the subject in the ranks of the despised and rejected.

Many imagine that the working class are those who perform what they are pleased to refer to as manual labour, as distinct from those they are even more pleased to call mental workers. But if this is so, where is the line to be drawn?

Who, think you, has exercised the greater mental activity—the booking clerk serving out tickets or the signalman passing the passenger safely on to his destination?—the office dignitary who works out the amount of the joiner's wages or the joiner involved in the intricacies of staircasing and hand-railing?

As a matter of fact a little consideration will show us that it is impossible to draw the line anywhere, for the simple reason that there is no such thing as a distinction between manual labour and mental. The brain is the centre of all activities. Every muscle in the body, therefore, derives its power of movement from the brain. It follows, then, that every muscular activity must be mental as well.

On the other hand, there is no possible means at present known by which any mental activity can find outlet to the world save through the exercise of manual or muscular effort in some form or other. A thought cannot be written without the muscular effort of wielding the pen, cannot even be spoken without the muscular exertion of moving the lips. So all mental labour that does not perish fruitless in the head wherein it is generated, must be manual as well as mental.

What is it, then, that divides the community into classes? What is that there is common between all those who constitute each class, yet is not common to the different classes? The answer to this last question, when we find it, may throw some light on the first.

If we take a survey of those about us, our fellow members of society, we find them a motley crew. Some are old, some are young; some fair to view, some we shouldn't care to be mistaken for; some are big and strong, some small and weak; some are good like ourselves, some are awful perishers. But none of these things can form the basis of a class division.

Shall we say that all the strong, or the good, form a class by themselves? Then class cannot go by families. There can be no working-class families, or other-class families. For there are long and short, strong and weak, plain and comely, in every family; and though, of course, all crime is with the working class, not all the working class are criminals.

In the same way occupation does not supply the test, for the same families frequently supply the workers for both the office, the workshop, and the factory; the salaried black-coat and the waged cloth cap.

What, then, can it be, that divides and unites the people into classes?

There are two things and two things only we can discover that remain fairly constant in certain circles, seldom dividing individual families, though separating families into two great groups and keeping them apart. These are, the possession or non-possession of wealth, and the necessity or otherwise of working for money or selling one's energy.

A moment's thought will reveal the fact that these things are intimately connected. People

possessing considerable wealth are not compelled to sell their strength and energy in order to live, while those who do not share in the ownership of wealth have no means of living except by means of the sale of their labour-power.

So there we have it. The working class are the propertyless, those, with their dependants, who must sell the strength of their mind and body for sustenance. What matter whether it is expended in mine or office? What matter whether it is paid for with salary or wages? All these trivialities vanish in the essentials that it provides. The propertyless have to work, to obey, to suffer unemployment, insecurity, and poverty. The propertyed live idle and luxurious lives—and dominate.

The working class, then, are all those who have to sell their energy to live. A. E. J.

NOTHING OBJECTIONABLE!

The "Morand-Morrison" divorce case should give pause to more than one critic of Socialism. In this case a man and woman were, on the authority of Mr. Justice Deane, perfectly happily married. Along comes a rich man—a millionaire—with, of course, a rich man's appreciation of that sanctity of the home and the marriage tie which Socialists (we are told) are bent upon destroying. He takes a fancy to the woman, having worn the novelty off his own wife, and being a very rich man, used to having his own way in everything, he soon removed all obstacles from his path.

Now the husband brings a case in court, not, of course, as a part of any pre-arranged scheme to provide Captain Morrison with a "free" woman.

What we desire to put on record, however, is the remarkable utterance of the judge in his direction to the jury, as indicating the position of the law when dealing with the buying and selling of women by rich men.

According to the "Daily Chronicle" of March 14, Mr. Priestley, K.C., "for the wife, in answer to Mr. Justice Deane, said it was a question of damages only, and the sum of £5,500 had been agreed upon subject to the approval of his lordship and the jury."

"Mr. Justice Deane" the "Chronicle" continues, "said there might be cases in which, when the parties lived a cat and dog life, it would be rather a blessing than otherwise that the parties should part. But there was nothing of that sort in this case. Petitioner and his wife were perfectly happy till this trouble began with Captain Morrison giving presents to the lady."

Having thus established the "glad, beautiful, and pure" English home in accordance with the accepted canons of orthodoxy, the judge proceeded to show how obliging and helpful the law is in matters of prostitution and the "White Slave" business when money elevates them from crime to virtue.

"The parties themselves had agreed to the sum of £5,500, and they knew the facts better than anyone else. As far as they could see, there was nothing of an objectionable character behind petitioner and the other parties. Captain Morrison was a rich man, and he had practically bought this woman for £5,500."

On the judge's direction the jury found for the petitioner.

It is a great pity that this will not serve as a peg for the Suffragettes to hang their tale upon. It is a great pity that the power of wealth, which shows its ugly head so obtrusively, cannot be obscured, and that all too visible class line rubbed out. They might then be able to show that this is another instance of the line of cleavage between the sexes, and to prove therefrom that the extension of the franchise to propertyed women would be the salvation of society. Alas! however, the facts of this case, at all events, are too glaring to be obliterated by their specific "dark brown fluid," or to be obscured by the "Votes for Women" label. It needs no discerning eye to observe that not only a woman, but a man also, has in this case been bought to serve the purpose of the idle rich. So it is as clear as daylight that the buying and selling of women does not indicate a sex inequality, calling for the Suffragette, but a class dominance, calling for the Socialist. J.

JOTTINGS.

WHAT an ungrateful world this is! Bearing in mind the fact that it is the workers who provide the capitalists with the wealth they batten upon, one would almost suppose that the capitalists would, in a measure, be grateful for the service rendered to them, if only to the extent of giving them a decent wage in return. And so they would, no doubt, did they not know that the workers as a class are not yet wise to the game. As it is, knowing that they hold full possession of the power (again provided by the workers) whereby they can keep the workers in subjection, they are prepared to exercise it to any extent in order to maintain it. Not only do they grind their victims down to the uttermost limit of degradation, but they seek to make it appear that they are doing them (the workers) a service in allowing them to live at all!

We, as wealth producers, are expected to be grateful to them for the privilege of producing wealth, in order to hand it over to them!

And how particular they are, too! They will insist on having the best even in buying labour power. They are connoisseurs, too, in the art of picking and choosing. Whenever a job is to be given, members of our class are paraded and eyed up and down, just for all the world like a lot of prize cattle. Those of us who are lucky (!) enough to have a job lose our personality (if we ever had any) immediately we get it, and respond to a number or a section the same as convicts.

* * *

One of the latest devices for improving this system has just come to light. It is used for particularising applicants for employment at the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges and is in connection with the working of Part 2 of the Insurance Act. This, by the way, is only one feature of the Insurance Act.

When a man presents himself to sign the unemployed register, it is said a clerk surveys him up and down and jots down by the side of his name a capital letter in accordance with a code they possess, the key to which is herewith furnished.

A.—Grey-haired.	I.—Insolent bearing.
B.—Slightly deaf.	J.—Slouchy gait.
C.—Very deaf.	K.—Over garrulous.
D.—Tidily dressed.	L.—Seedy appearance.
E.—Untidily dressed.	M.—Unkempt appearance.
F.—Down at heel.	N.—Smart appearance.
G.—Generally unfit.	O.—Intelligent face.
H.—Fringe at bottom of trousers.	

No sign of gratitude here to the wealth producers—rather one of shameless cunning and insult. No sign here of the repeated promise of the Liberal tricksters to end the misery of unemployment. No! When it comes to the process of still further weeding out the poor devils who have once before been weeded out, it is an indication that the struggle between the producers and the non-producers is reaching its most acute stage. Factors such as these sound an ominous note. There are rumblings in the air. A little longer and then—Mr. Capitalist, look out!

* * *

Another "self-made" man has gone over. According to the eulogues which have lately appeared in the Press, Sir William Arrol "was essentially a self-made man, owing nothing to patronage, and conquered by his own sheer indomitable will, which raised him from the humblest ranks to the most exalted position in the profession of engineering."

Dear, dear! Just mark what this most wonderful man accomplished. "The chief triumphs of Sir Wm. Arrol's genius were the construction of the second Tay Bridge, the Forth Bridge, the Tower Bridge, and the Nile bridges near Cairo."

As he "owed nothing to patronage" we must assume that he did it all himself—for sport. There is no mention made of anyone giving him a lift with the job, except in the case of the Forth Bridge, when King Edward drove home the last of 6½ million rivets.

Perhaps he was a magician!

In these days of capitalist sorcery one has to be prepared for anything. If someone comes

along with an invention that will do away with the necessity for eating it will not be in the least surprising. As it is we are getting on that way now. If report speaks truly it will shortly be possible for the worker to remain at his task for an indefinite period. A Doctor Horton, of the State Psychopathic Hospital, Mass., has invented a substitute for sleep which permits the brain to work 24 hours a day!

The invention consists of a scientifically constructed chair in which one can rest while following his occupation (if a seated one), and in which all mental and bodily vigour is maintained. A professor who has experimented on it over a number of years has never found it necessary to close his eyes!

Phew! Once get this going and the jig's up! However, it's an ill wind that blows good to nobody. Apply the invention to our industrial system and the eight hours question is solved right away. There won't be any!

* * *

Following upon the agitation some time ago for better conditions in the Postal Service, a Committee of Enquiry was appointed to enquire into and report upon the existing conditions of the various services in connection with the Post Office. Prominent among those who gave evidence was Sir Alexander King, the Secretary to the Post Office and Head of the Department. Obviously his purpose was to gloss over the bad conditions, and also to rebut any evidence that might damage the Department.

Now, mark! Quite recently the Postmen's Federation held a social at Beckenham at which their Parliamentary Secretary and labour candidate, Mr. G. H. Stuart, presided. The honoured guest of the evening, who was received with loud applause, was—Sir Alexander King!

* * *

In connection with the recent bye-election at Houghton, the Liberal Press a few days prior thereto pointed out the farcical position of a Liberal and a Labour candidate fighting in the same contest when both stood for the same thing. It certainly is very funny, though not surprising.

The Labour candidate (Ald. House) says: "The Labour Party agrees with every item in the programme of the Liberal Party."

The "Manchester Guardian" (12.3.13) says: "Mr. House is taking his stand at this election on the same ground as the Liberal candidate," and goes on to complain that the Labour candidate is altering his political dress more and more to match the Liberal pattern!

Of course it must be aggravating when a chap comes along and queers the pitch. After all, though, haven't the Liberals the best of the game? Have they not two representatives to the Tories' one?

* * *

The "Labour Leader" is now mildly protesting against the too frequent appearance of Labour M.P.s on Liberal platforms. It has been quite the fashion, lately. "Everybody's doing it." It's all right once in a way, but don't over do it, you know! Gives the game away.

Mr. W. Johnson has been unusually busy. He supported the Liberals at Coventry on the occasion of a demonstration on January 24 and on March 1 he opened a Liberal club. On March 6 he attended the annual dinner of the Bolton Liberal Club, where he informed his pals that he had given the Government his loyal support. "I am not going to be dictated to as to where I shall go," he said, "and I would not refrain from being amongst you to-night." There is nothing like candour!

Both Mr. Crooks and Mr. Bowerman supported the "Progressive" candidates in various wards last month, despite the fact that candidates were running under the auspices of the B.S.P., and who had, in Bow and Bromley, the support of the Gasworkers' Union. Thus we find them in opposition to their own kind!

I don't know that Mr. Crooks is to be blamed altogether, for he has always displayed a cringing servility toward his "betters." Politically he is blind. As a platform orator he has a habit of putting his foot in his mouth every time he opens it, as, for instance, when he was seeing Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald off to India he admitted that "sometimes in looking up to heaven we stumble over the log that is at our feet and come a cropper because we don't see where we are going!"

TOM SALA.

QUESTION TIME.

A most amusing poster was exhibited at the Tooting branch of the B.S.P. recently, and from the Socialist point of view a most comprehensive one, too.

A meeting was advertised for March 9th at which Mr. E. Crump was to give a lecture, and the subject was to be: "Where Are We?"

Had the speaker shown the same sincerity in keeping his engagement as he did in choosing his subject the position would even then have been humorous, but his failure to turn up placed a touch of reality on the whole affair.

After an existence of twenty-seven years, smelling as sweetly under a variety of names, the B.S.P. find it necessary to ask themselves where they are! When we remember that the same party on the occasion of the Borough Council election in 1912, opposed the Progressives in Battersea and supported them in Tooting, the above incident can only be taken as a true reflex of their "organisation."

It is interesting to note, also, that what is called a "Transition Programme" (whatever that may be) finds a place on the preliminary agenda for the B.S.P.'s Whitsuntide Conference. The following extracts reveal the terrifying and r-r-revolutionary nature of the discussion that is to take place:—

"The Abolition of the Monarchy." "Free Administration of Justice and Legal Advice." "Compensation for Persons Innocently Accused and Imprisoned." "Abolition of Indirect Taxation," etc., etc.

Now at last we can feel that capitalism is tottering to its grave. Surely nothing but the fear of the advent of Socialism would move the B.S.P. to endeavour to perpetuate the present rotten system with such desperation as the above suggests.

Yet H. M. Hyndman, the G.O.M. of confusion, has said that we are faced with a system which makes reform impossible.

When intelligent workers note these facts, and also bear in mind the controversy raging round the subject of strengthening the very forces which exist to keep us in our slavery, they will agree that the time is over-ripe for questions, including the plaintive one of the lost—"Where are we?" C. BAGGETT.

All people must range themselves on one side or the other—for or against the Revolution—for or against the working class. Which side are YOU on?

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ECONOMICS IN BRIEF.

THE science which treats of the production and distribution of wealth is termed political economy, and has been described as the "dismal science"—which name the contradictions and confusion of the orthodox economists render not inapplicable. To study these economists is like studying astronomy without a knowledge of gravity. But just as astronomy was brought out of chaos by that discovery which enabled us to understand the movements of the heavenly bodies, so about fifty years ago political economy was placed on a firm foundation by Karl Marx, the founder of scientific Socialism.

In his work "Capital" Marx brought to light certain facts which the orthodox economists could not accept without admitting truths which quite upset their teachings. And the dissemination by the university professors of the Marxian teaching that the capitalists live upon the exploitation of the workers would surely have resulted in their removal from their posts, just as Prof. Thorold Rogers was deprived of an office "for tracing certain social mischiefs to their origin."

Many of the older economists made no fundamental distinction between modern production and that of former epochs. But to Marx the production of wealth under capitalist society differs from all previous production in that the wealth under former systems was produced primarily or solely for use, while under modern conditions it is produced for the purpose of exchange. But this is not all, for no one to-day enters into the production of commodities, as goods created for exchange are termed, simply for the purpose of exchanging them for other commodities. And to understand the motive for which industry is carried on we must for a moment glance at the modern manufacturer and see why he is a manufacturer.

He starts out with a certain sum of money with which he purchases his plant, raw material, and other things essential to his particular line of business, and the finished commodities are exchanged for money. But if the object aimed at is achieved, then not only the original sum of money is returned, but an excess also. It matters not what class of goods is produced, how many or what quality, unless this surplus appears at the close of the cycle, the manufacturer is said to have failed.

The question then arises, how does this excess of wealth come about? It is obvious that it does not arise in the process of exchange, for what one capitalist would gain another would lose. We must therefore look elsewhere for this source of profit.

The wealth used in modern society for the purpose of obtaining profit we call capital, and its owners capitalists. When the commodities of the industrial capitalist are produced they are placed upon the market for exchange, and the amount of other commodities he will receive for them does not depend upon his "will," but upon conditions beyond his control. Once on the market his goods come face to face with other commodities of similar nature, and if our capitalist asks for his articles more than the average usually given, he will not sell them. Therefore he has to accept the average that society will give. Should, however, the market become overstocked, as it does periodically owing to the anarchical nature of present-day production, then each capitalist, in order to dispose of his particular commodity, will accept less than usual, while if, on the other hand, there is a greater demand for those articles they will ask and obtain more than the average.

Now these fluctuations take place round a certain point, but if a modification in the process of production takes place, then that point shifts. For instance, according to Babbage ("Economy of Manufacture") the price of a sheet of plate glass 50" x 30" was in 1771 £24 2s. 4d., and in 1832 £6 12s. 10d., while small sheets (for a reason to be explained later) rose in price. The fall in price was due to the adoption of improved methods in producing largesheets which reduced the time necessary to accomplish the operation.

We see, then, that the reduction in the time necessary for the production of a commodity results in a fall in its value, therefore what determines the value of a commodity is the time

needed to produce it—not the time taken by the individual, but the average time taken to produce that particular line of commodities.

Commodities taking on the average the same time to produce will be equal in exchange, e.g., if A takes on the average 10 hours to produce and B also takes 10 hours, then they will both possess the same exchange value—one will exchange for the other. But if the time necessary for the production of B falls to 5 hours, then A will exchange for 2 Bs.

The direct exchange of one commodity for another without the intervention of any intermediary is a very primitive form of exchange and is known as barter. In primitive communities, where exchange takes place on a very small scale, where articles are produced primarily for use, and only the surplus is exchanged, barter is the common practice, but later an intermediary comes between the goods exchanged. This we term the medium of exchange, and many things have been used at different times for this purpose, such as salt, cattle, shells, copper, silver and gold. But this medium is not a thing outside the world of commodities. It is in itself a commodity whose value is known to society, and which will be accepted by all those desiring an exchange.

In modern society gold is used as the medium of exchange, having been selected as being convenient, portable, fairly constant in value, and as containing great value in small bulk.

When we say that a certain commodity is worth £1 we do but express the fact that the same quantity of human labour measured by time has been expended on the average in the production of each, and we say that the £1 is the price of this commodity.

But let us look a little farther. We will say that a gun is equal in value to £1, that is to say they each represent the same amount of human labour time. If the time necessary for the production of the gun falls by half, it is obvious that on our theory it will be worth only 10s. But now let us assume that no alteration takes place in the value of the gun, while the time necessary to produce the £1 falls by half, £2 would now be required to equal the value of the gun. Although no alteration has taken place in the value of the gun, its price has risen through a fall in the value of gold.

A fall in prices is generally looked for on the introduction of quicker methods of producing a commodity, but our second case seems to be incomprehensible to most people, and all sorts of theories are put forward to explain a general rise in prices.

It was the fall in the value of the medium of exchange that explains the increased price of the small sheets of glass referred to above, and the fact that the price of the larger sheets fell informs us that the fall in their value was greater than the fall in the value of the coin.

So far we have presumed that the owner of the commodities was their producer. Such an assumption might have sufficed in the handicraft system, where the producer owned the tools he used and the goods he produced. But under capitalist production the basis of our analysis is incomplete. We must therefore follow our capitalist into business again.

We said he starts out with a certain sum of money which we call his capital, with which he purchases his plant and raw material. This is termed constant capital, because its value does not alter during the process of production. It is true the plant deteriorates in value, as does also the quantity of the raw material, as production proceeds, but its value is not lost, but transferred to the finished commodities.

Obviously the constant capital cannot create even the smallest amount of value, for no matter how long it was left it would remain inoperative, and there would be no increase in value until another factor was introduced.

The manufacturer, therefore, has to have more capital with which to obtain this other factor in order to set this machinery in operation, and as the modern methods of production are far too vast for the owner to operate them by himself, even if he desired to do so, he has to seek the aid of others.

The capitalist purchases, not the worker, but his energies, his power to labour, and what the worker receives in return for this labour power we call wages.

Now there is a constant struggle going on

amongst the workers for the jobs, which prevents wages rising, on the average, above a certain point. The large army of unemployed, the necessary adjunct of capitalist society, in their eagerness to obtain work, are prepared to accept a wage just sufficient to cover their cost of subsistence. The result is that those who are in employment have to accept the same or give way to those who will. Thus competition keeps wages, on the average, at the subsistence level. In other words, wages are governed by the cost of living.

The capitalist, then, has to purchase the requisite labour-power to operate his tools of production. And when this labour-power is expended in the production of useful articles a further value is created.

Now the value the workers create does not depend upon the wages they receive, which, we have seen, is determined by the cost of living. Hence it does not matter how much value they create, their wages remain the same. And it is obvious that if they do not create a value at least equal to that they receive in wages the manufacturer's capital would soon become exhausted. But if this was all that could be obtained there would be no inducement for the capitalist to enter into business at all. The workers must, therefore, produce a value greater than their wages in order to ensure their continued employment.

This "surplus value," as the excess of value over and above their wages created by the workers is called, increases with the increase in the productivity of labour. The more the workers produce the more goes into the pocket of the capitalist. And as the wages of the former are determined before ever they commence work, they will be unaffected by any alteration in the amount of value they create.

The appropriation of the surplus value by the capitalist is his sole motive for entering into production. But he is not able to retain the whole of this surplus value for himself: he has to make certain payments in the form of rent and interest.

We have said that the values of commodities are determined by the average amount of human labour time necessary to produce them. Equal quantities of labour time will, on the average, produce equal values. We have said further that the constant portion of capital does not create value, and therefore does not create surplus value.

Now the production of some commodities necessitates the use of a larger proportion of constant capital in proportion to the amount of labour employed. If all commodities were sold at their value it would mean that those capitals containing a larger percentage of constant capital would obtain less surplus value than those containing a smaller percentage.

For example, a certain capital, say £1,500, is composed of constant capital £1,000 and variable capital (that portion used for the payment of wages) £500, and the labour employed creates a value of £1,000. The total value of the product will be composed of constant capital £1,000 plus £1,000 created by the workers, making a total value of £2,000. The cost in money to the capitalist of producing the commodities will have been £1,500, leaving a surplus value of £500, or, roughly, 33 per cent. on the outlay.

Now we will take another illustration. Another capitalist also commences business with £1,500, of which he spends only £500 in constant capital and £1,000 in the purchase of labour power. Equal quantities of labour power produce equal values, hence the value of the product will be composed of £500 constant capital plus £2,000 created by the workers, making a total value of £2,500. The cost price to the capitalist will have been the same as in the previous illustration, viz., £1,500. The surplus in this instance will be at the rate of just over 66 per cent. on the outlay.

Now when analysing the capitalist mode of production we have always to remember that it presupposes competition in all its ramifications. And if all commodities were sold at their value, capital would be withdrawn from those spheres of production which necessitated a large percentage of constant capital and invested in those which needed a smaller percentage. The withdrawal of capital and the consequent reduction in the competition in one sphere would allow of an increase in the prices of the commodities

while in that sphere in which the influx of capital took place the increased competition would force down prices, thus causing an increase of profit in one sphere and a decrease in the other.

This competition is continually going on between the different capitals seeking investment, reducing the price of commodities in some spheres of production below their value and in other spheres raising the price above their value, at the same time and through this process bringing about an average rate of profit throughout society.

The fact that there is a tendency to the formation of an average rate of profit in society resulting in commodities being sold at prices varying from their value does not in the least alter the Marxian theory of value as explained in the first volume of "Capital." And although there is a deviation of price from the value of individual commodities, yet the total value of the commodities of society will equal the sum of their prices.

The point in political economy that is of paramount importance to the working class is the fact that they are robbed of the wealth they create over and above the cost of their subsistence. This robbery takes place because a certain class of people are allowed to own all the means for producing and distributing wealth—the land, mines, railways, factories, machinery, etc.

We of the Socialist Party, recognising this, are organising to wrest the means of life from the hands of these people and make them common property. When this is accomplished, then for the first time since the dawn of chattel slavery the exploitation of human labour-power will cease. Each member of the community capable of assisting in the production and distribution of wealth will be expected to perform his share of the necessary labour, and the wealth that is created will be the common property of the whole people.

The system of society based upon such a property condition we call Socialism.

H. A. Young.

THE BOOTLESS "BOOM."

"Those who wish to understand the phenomenon of working-class discontent should give their attention to the table of food prices just furnished by the Board of Trade. It covers the exact period of the present Government's official life, and is therefore a dramatic comment on the theory that the secret of Cheap Food lies in the maintenance of Free Trade. There is scarcely an article of diet in which these seven years have not recorded rising prices. Bread is higher by only 4 per cent. in the ordinary retail trade; but, as contract supplies show an increase of 9 per cent., and flour is up 13 per cent., it is impossible not to suspect that the figure is steadied by a reduction of quality. Beef has risen by 14 per cent.—counterbalanced, if one likes to think so, by a cheapening of 'second quality' and 'inferior' mutton. Sugar is slightly above the level of seven years ago, despite the reduction of the duty, and the great tendency of the markets is shown by an advance of 19 per cent. on potatoes, 16 per cent. on eggs, 14 per cent. on butter, 17 per cent. on milk, 21 per cent. on oatmeal, 22 per cent. on bacon, and 25 per cent. on cheese.

"The wholesale value of certain imported food-stuffs shows a still more startling discrepancy, the rise in tea being 21 per cent., rice 32 per cent., coffee 46 per cent., and tapioca 39 per cent. Taking the facts as a whole, they mean that the cost of living has exceeded any gain that the working classes have secured in the means of facing it. All that has been effected in the way of raising wages, whether by trade unions or by other methods, has been nullified by the trend of prices, and at the end of seven years marked by strenuous agitation and political effort the wage-earner finds himself worse off than before. The causes of this tragic conclusion may be complex, but one fact is plain—that the parties which have dominated legislation for these seven years as the self-appointed champions of the working man are completely off the track. Whatever nominal concessions they may have gained for him are fruitless, because they have persisted in ignoring the essentials of their

position. Free Trade can neither check the dearth of living nor advance the remuneration of labour. In good times it only allows the worker to make ends meet, and in bad times it throws him on to the brink, or into the gulf, of destitution. While the wealth of the country is increasing and Mr. Burns talks of 'striding the world like a Colossus,' the producers of wealth only see that life is made harder for them than ever. Under the operation of Cobdenism the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, and under these conditions we have no title to be surprised if a spirit of social revolution should exhibit itself in extending areas and with ever-increasing menace."

Italics ours.

The above has not been written for the SOCIALIST STANDARD, but is culled from the columns of the "Pall Mall Gazette" (14.2.13). In it we are not only reminded of the paradox (if such it can be called) under the operation of the anarchical system of production for profit instead of for use that "booming trade" and "wealth striding the world like a Colossus" do not necessarily mean "boots for all," but, what is more, our ever-challenged contention of the worsening trend of working-class conditions under capitalism is once again substantiated and admitted by capitalist authority. It will be remembered that only a little over a year ago that other worthy agent of slaveholders, Mr. Lloyd George, reminded a more or less interested world that "to-day you have greater poverty in the land and a more severe economic bondage than you ever had before."

Although the scribe of the "Pall Mall Gazette" criticises the "self-appointed champions of the working class" for "ignoring the essentials of the workers' position," and fails himself to state these essentials, yet anyone who knows for what section of the master class Mr. Garvin and his co-workers on the "Pall Mall Gazette" have to write, and what interests they have to serve, will be familiar with what constitutes for the said organ "essentials," and the alternative policy to "arrest" the worsening tendency of working-class conditions. And even "Labour leaders"—who are too blinded by their own selfish interests to perceive the utter futility of (and, in fact, mostly support) the petty quack measures advocated in the daily Press, which are merely destined to enable the present system of exploitation to continue working smoothly, in other words to consolidate the system—I say even those who thus use the ignorance of the workers for their own aggrandisement, will not fear, in the case of the "P.M.G.," any essential deviation from its old policy or suspect it of adopting the revolutionary attitude.

The daily Press will still admit that the appalling poverty and misery are confined to the ranks of the working class, but they are far from disavowing our influential "leaders of Labour" by speaking of such things as antagonisms of interests existing between capitalists and wage workers. One might as well expect the Keir Harlies and Blatchfords themselves to insist on the necessity of understanding that the problem of poverty is essentially one of class, and can only be met by the organisation of the workers on the cardinal principles of the irreconcilable and uncompromising class war.

Thus, although the writer left the reader to draw his own conclusion, the "P.M.G." has long made it sufficiently clear that its only alternative to the ravages of Cobdenism is—Tariff Reform! Presumably the poor scribe thought it desirable, for the holy sake of "expediency" (or for his own sake) to refrain, at this juncture, from mentioning the sacred battle-cry.

The essentials of the working-class position, indeed! Could it be expected that Mr. Garvin's paymasters would allow a statement of the real essentials? or the publication of the result of a scientific investigation? No. The nature of the essentials of the working class position is such as to make their propounding utterly incompatible with the respectability of the "P.M.G." Their nostrums do not only not disturb the peace of the slaveholders, but actually lead a section of them to a better exploitation of, and a tighter grip over, their unfortunate victims. And Tariff Reform, the nostrum of the afore mentioned organ, would, of course, not make an exception in this.

We need only look to the Tariff enjoying countries both on the Continent and in America,

to get the lie direct to the rhetorical assurances of those capitalist hacks who claim that tariff walls are a safeguard for the prosperity of the workers. From time to time hostile clamours are heard going up in those countries against the dearth, and the still further rising of the prices, of the necessities of life, which unmistakably show that there is equally an inadequacy on the part of the workers of those lands "in their means of facing it."

Such outrages often reach these shores and find prominence in the Press. Who does not remember the reports of the recent upheavals in France and Belgium, the revolt of the housewives in the market places, the chronic protests and popular demonstrations demanding the abolition of import duties on food-stuffs in Austria, Germany, Spain, etc., in the States as well as in South America?

The following, which appeared in the "Daily News and Leader" for Feb. 28, is typical of these constantly recurring news items:—

"PROTECTIONIST DUTIES TO BE REDUCED OR ABOLISHED."

"Rio De Janeiro, Feb. 26."

"The Government has decided to proceed with the revision and reduction of protectionist duties, and has authorised the Minister of Finance to reduce or, if need be, to abolish import duties on necessities of life. This step has been resolved upon by the Council of Ministers as the result of the popular outrages against the dearth of food.—REUTERS."

Is it not also significant that the reduction of import duties formed one of the issues at the last Presidential election in the United States?

For all those workers who still are under the illusion that different fiscal systems can have any influence whatever on the economic position of the working class the present writer has a wish that their "walks of life" might lead them amongst the working population of foreign industrial centres, say, for instance, in Austria. He feels convinced that it would be an eye-opener to them, and that they would speedily find out that what the Welsh Apostle of Free Trade said a little while ago of Britain, namely, that "that condition of things was foreign to the barbarities even of the darker ages," is perfectly true of Protectionist countries. Unemployment is just as acute. A Budapest daily, the "Neues Pester Journal," for February 11th, which came into the hands of the present writer, dealt editorially with the problem of unemployment in that city. Here is word for word what it said:—

"To-day there are in our capital more than 30,000 unemployed, who, with their families, are faced with the most pressing destitution, and are unable to find work. Thereby it must be taken into consideration that these workers, in consequence of the misery in which they find themselves, are willing to take on any work and are only too pleased to earn 60 or 80 heller (6d. or 8d.) for ten and twelve hours labour. During the last few weeks the large timber merchants have had hundreds of applications from unemployed offering their services for 20 heller (2d.) a day."

If we bear in mind that the total number of workers in Budapest is approximately 100,000, it will be clear what an appalling amount of human misery there must exist in this Protection enjoying country.

Instances showing the terrible plight of the workers all over the world, side by side with ever-improving means of wealth production and greater command over natural resources, could be multiplied, but space does not permit.

The truth is that the class interest of the owners of these means of wealth production stand in the way of their manipulation for the common benefit. It is the historic mission of the working class to organise in order to break down the barrier, but so long as they superstitiously believe in the "sacred rights of property" inculcated by their masters, so long will they continue to be the unconscious dupes of the political bunglers.

If it is going to be a long task overthrowing the present social system and instituting the Socialist Commonwealth, that is entirely due to the apathy and ignorance of the workers.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR APRIL.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	C. Elliot	J. Roe	C. Baggett	E. Lake
" " 7.30	I. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	A. Barker	E. Fairbrother
Edmonton Green " 7.30	J. G. Stone	A. W. Pearson	A. Timms	T. W. Allen
Finsbury Park " 3.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn
Forest Gate (Station) 7.30	A. Jacobs	A. Bays	A. Anson	J. G. Stone
Hyde Park (Marble Arch) 7.30	A. Anderson	F. Vickers	A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald
Ilford (Station) 7.30	A. Leslie	B. Young	C. Gatter	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 11.30	C. Parker	J. Fitzgerald	A. Leslie	C. Baggett
" " 7.30	A. Bays	C. Gatter	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns
Paddington, Prince of Wales 11.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	S. Blake	A. Timms
Stoke Newington, Ribley Rd., Dalston 11.30	A. Kohn	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald	W. Lewington
Tooting Broadway " 11.30	A. Barker	S. Blake	A. Barker	C. Elliott
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 7.30	A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	J. Fitzgerald	J. Myles
" " 7.30	T. W. Allen	C. Baggett	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
Walham Green Church 7.30	C. Gatter	A. Anderson	J. G. Stone	A. Bays
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn. 7.30	E. Fairbrother	E. Lake	J. Roe	A. Barker
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	J. Myles	A. Hoskyns	A. Bays	C. Parker
" " 7.30	F. Stearn	A. Pearson	W. Lewington	B. Young
" " 7.30	A. Timms	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

- BATTERSEA.**—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
- BEDFORD.**—All communications to R. T. Freeman 83 Britania-rd.
- CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
- EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
- EDMONTON.**—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
- FULHAM.**—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.
- GRAVESEND.**—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.
- ILFORD.**—Communications to secretary, 97 Thorold Road, Ilford. Particulars of Branch meetings from secretary.
- ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.
- MANCHESTER.**—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.
- MARYLEBONE.**—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carlburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.
- PADDINGTON.**—Communications to Sec., J. W. Cheekman, 189, Postmill-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. at 8 p.m. at 361, Harrow Road, W. (side door).
- PECKHAM.**—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
- SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**—Communications to Sec., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
- STOKE NEWINGTON.**—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-rd., Newington Green. Branch meets Monds 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
- TOTTENHAM.**—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-rd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).
- TOTTENHAM.**—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
- WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets Mondays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.
- WATFORD.**—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Ellfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government national and local, in order that this machinery including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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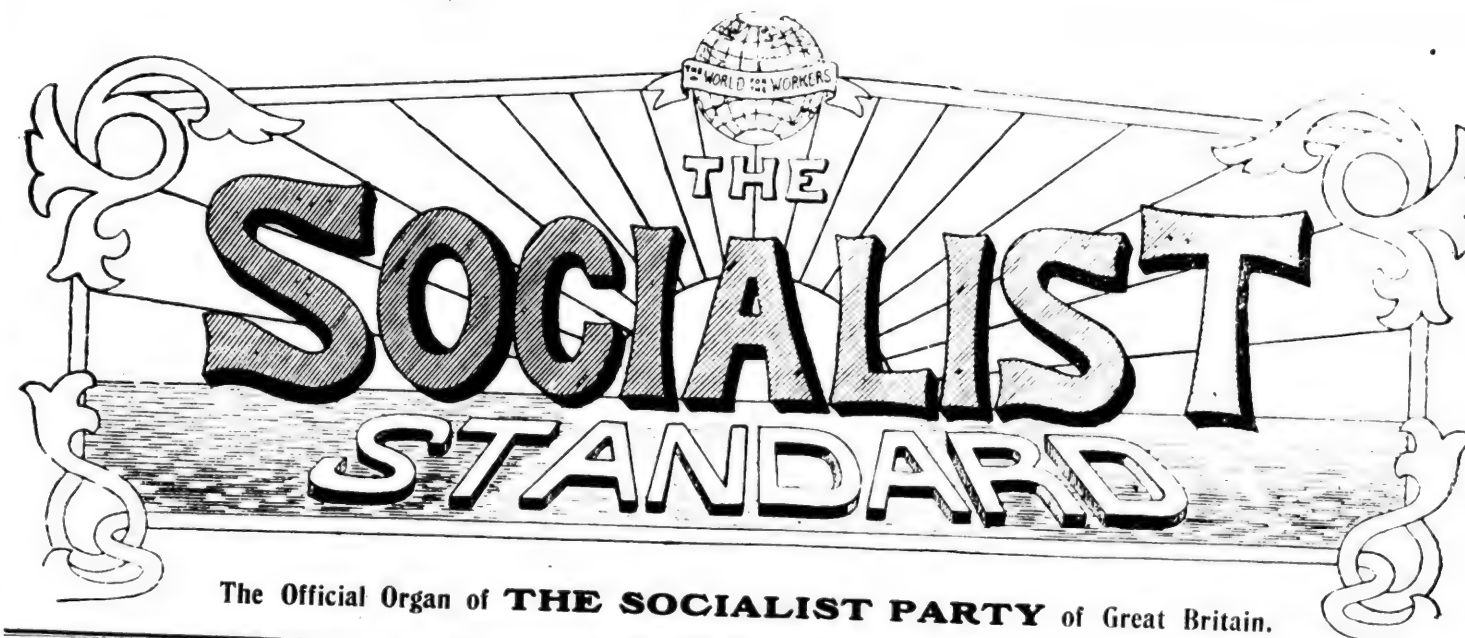
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LONDON, MAY 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

WHY WE ARE EDUCATED.

OUR POSITION JUSTIFIED BY THE ENEMY.

WE have often been asked if we are in favour of a higher system of education, and the raising of the age at which children may leave school. Our reply has invariably been that it is a fatuous policy to advocate any such measures while the workers are so impotent in the administration of affairs as they must be while their masters control the political machinery.

We have consistently pointed out that those who, like the British Socialist Party and the Independent Labour Party, continue to advocate the raising of the school age to 16 years, and the adoption of a higher standard of education, are utterly wasting their time and energy, and what is worse from the revolutionary point of view, are obscuring the real issue, i.e., the fight of the working class for the conquest of political power, in order to achieve their economic emancipation by the establishment of Socialism.

That our attitude toward this question has been justified is abundantly proved by the very significant statements of Lord Crewe and Lord Haldane at the Eighty Club on April 4th of the present year.

Speaking of the half-time system Lord Crewe said it "possesses a desperate ill-name in this country, but I do not think it can be disputed that there are certain cases, certain parts of the country and certain types of individual life in which what is even more important than the maintenance of full-time elementary education is the definite continuance of education to an age considerably greater than the law makes compulsory."

The half-time system "possesses a desperate ill-name in this country," and there the matter ends as far as our nonchalant Government is concerned. No statement is made as to its elimination, or even foreshadowing the reduction of the number of half-timers. All we get is a hint, not so much that the age at which full-time children will be allowed to leave school is likely to be raised "in certain parts of the country," as that the Bournville policy of compelling children to attend evening schools when starting work is to be adopted.

But why the ominous qualification, "some parts of the country"? Is it because the children of the working class in some districts are not deserving of a higher education? or because of an insufficiency of brain power to enable them to retain the knowledge imparted to them by the teacher? Or is it—but let Lord Haldane reply.

He said upon the same occasion: "It is not that we are not making progress, but that the new organisation of society, of finance and industry, is pressing us into competition with other nations, such as we have never had to face before."

This is the key to the whole situation. The capitalist class do not provide education "at

great expense" for the children of the workers simply because they wish them to become more intelligent, but for the sole reason that the increasing development of commercialism, of finance, and of industry in general necessitates an ever-increasing army of comparatively highly educated wage workers, whose education has to increase and keep pace with the advancing knowledge of the working class in other countries, in order that the capitalist class in this country may effectually compete with their foreign competitors for the markets of the world.

This explains completely why the children of the workers are to be blessed with a higher education in "some parts of the country" than in others. In London and the other commercial and financial centres the age at which children may leave school must be raised, or some other method of attaining a higher educational standard be adopted, while in other parts, presumably the mining and cotton manufacturing districts (and possibly in agricultural districts also), where the bulk of industry requires a comparatively slight education, the half-time system can continue.

"But the real secret of success," continued the Lord Chancellor, "lies not with the owners of capital." (Of course not.) Therefore "we must raise the general educational level of the whole country."

"In these days of science, of the organisation of capital and the competition among all nations for the first place, how are we to keep this position? By science, by organisation, by training people in science and organisation."

The working class, then, are to be trained in science and the organisation of capital (which the working class never own) so as to enable them to retain the supremacy of British commerce in the interest of the capitalist class of this country.

The "higher elementary" stage is to-day voluntary, and comparatively few of the children pass through this, as the poverty of the parents compels them to withdraw their youngsters from school as soon as they reach the age of 14 and send them out as "industrial machines" in order to augment the meagre income of the family.

At the same meeting Lord Crewe declared that "unless we have the nation at our backs we cannot make headway." The "Daily News and Leader" administers a rebuke to Lord Haldane for trying to win "national sympathy" for education by telling "the nation that education is good business; that it will help us in the world's competition markets." The "Daily News and Leader" has a different way from that of telling the truth, and in orthodox Nonconformist style says, "education should be conceived as part of the machinery of equal opportunity, the purpose of which is to enable men to rise out of one social class into another."

Lord Haldane, however, knew that such pitiful drivell would have no effect upon the members of the Eighty Club, composed, as it is, of the shining lights of the master class—many of them millionaires. When the plunderers are addressing their own class "truth must out," but to obtain the support of the working class, who have the power, as soon as they have the intelligence, to remove their masters from the political offices they hold, then the purpose of education is to enable the workers to lift themselves into the class above them, in other words to become capitalists!

A most beautiful dream, this, but one that develops into a nightmare as the facts become clearer.

The children who pass through the "higher elementary" schools are to-day sometimes able to command a better wage than their more unfortunate schoolmates, who, through the poverty of their parents, have to leave school two or three years earlier. But the increased competition for the situations that necessitate a better education that will assuredly follow from the adoption of the system of compulsory higher education will have the effect of reducing wages in these professions, and so enable the capitalist to obtain even greater profit at the expense of the workers.

The capitalists do not pay for education for the benefit of the worker's children, and nothing would please them better, or be more to their advantage, than to be able to carry on their business with an ignorant working class. For this same education enables the Socialists to disseminate their views in literature amongst the working class, a method of propaganda that would have been impossible had not the advent of capitalism brought with it the necessity for an educated working class. In this respect, as in many others, the "capitalist class produce their own gravediggers."

And now our masters have also become suddenly enamoured with the idea of improving the physical conditions of the children. But the same material interests dominate their actions in this direction as it does in all others.

"What a bad bargain we are making," cried Lord Crewe, "in allowing children not properly furnished physically to attend schools which are set up at great expense to the country" (read capitalist class). "Such children are not being trained into useful citizens and useful industrial machines and you are educating at great expense a child which in a very short time will become entitled to the medical and sanatorium benefit of the insurance scheme."

And there you have it. The worker's children are now to receive physical training, which has hitherto been almost entirely ignored, not that they may enjoy a better physique and better health in after life, but that the physical train

ing they will receive when young will have the effect of producing better and more profitable "industrial machines," and be the means of keeping them off the State Insurance funds.

We know that whatever "education" the workers' children receive in future will be the same as they have received in the past—just that amount that is necessary for the capitalist class to carry on their business for profit.

The real education of the working class, the knowledge that will raise them from their degrading class position, will be taught only by the Socialist Party.

H. A. YOUNG.

THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION.

We have been accused of exaggeration, and are told that we want a revolution to overthrow a molehill. We are damned by the faint praise of those who admit the justice of our demands, yet who, advocating the amelioration of the evils we expose, endeavour to show how such evils can be remedied much more easily than by the proposed removal of a social system.

We are told that Socialism has been tried and has failed, not once, but many times, and that the attempt to establish a Socialist regime in this country would result in disaster and chaos.

"Capitalism is bad, admittedly, but what evidence have we that Socialism will not be worse?" "Let us avoid revolution." "Do not throw away the old garment before we obtain the new." These are the cries that affect the timid; but what is Socialism and what is the problem that it proposes to solve?

Admittedly we stand for a reorganisation of Society; for a system opposed to and differing entirely from the present. Its establishment means the overthrow of the present system and it cannot be realized (to say nothing of failure) until the present social order has ceased to be.

Let us, then, leave the absurd notions of past failures of Socialism to such puny minds as find their place in the Anti-Socialist Union scribbles and speakers and those of equal calibre outside or inside Bedlam.

The only real and necessary function of a social system should be to provide the necessities of life and add to the happiness of the community. The objective should be to satisfy the material wants of the people who make up that society. Does the capitalist system fulfil this function? Are the social units under that system well provided for? and if they are not why is it?

We claim that the units of society are not well provided for. We are not alone when we say that want—material want—is a feature of capitalism. Poverty is inevitable, say our statesmen. "The poor we have always with us," chants the parson. Unemployment, with its concomitant evils, is a permanency. The material wants of the mass of society are not satisfied. Responsible statesmen have admitted for years past that poverty grows greater, and that faster than one social sore is healed others break out. (Lloyd George, for instance).

In England, we are told, the average family consists of five persons. The amount of wealth produced in this country is sufficient to provide each family of five with wealth equivalent to the sum of £225 per annum. (Chiozza Money.) The present cost of living would enable each family to live in comfort on such a sum. Yet the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said that "30 per cent. of our population are underfed, on the verge of hunger." The "Daily Chronicle," of Feb. 12, 1913 stated that: "Millions are without a living wage. Two millions and a half adult males in this country do not obtain 25s. a week; nearly a million are not receiving 20s. a week, and some 300,000 do not carry away 15s. a week even when they are in full employment."

Dr. Clifford said at the Free Church Congress at Newcastle on March 12 last: "Official returns issued yesterday (March 11) show that on July 1st last year the total number of paupers was 773,603, an increase of 14,828."

The present social system, then, does enable the people to produce sufficient to satisfy their needs, yet condemns millions of them to perpetual hunger and misery—provides more than sufficient for the comfort of all and allows some of them to starve to death!

Something is wrong. What is the defect in the capitalist system? It is that while enough is produced to sustain society, the product is so badly distributed that, while some have access to more wealth than they can reasonably consume, the vast majority are without the comforts of life, and many even starve in the midst of plenty.

The question then arises: Why this failure to provide each member of society with the things he needs?

To answer this question we must discover how wealth is distributed, and in doing so we shall find out how wealth is produced.

Economic wealth can only be produced by the application of human energy to raw materials. One may speak of "a wealth of forest," or "a wealth of sunshine," but both forest and sunshine may exist where man is not, and therefore be of no use to him. The wealth of nature must be made available and useful to man before it is economic wealth.

All those who are expending their energy in transforming nature given material into useful articles, or making it available for use, are engaged in wealth production. This task is performed by the workers.

When the workers have produced the wealth it does not belong to them. The basis of the system is the private ownership of the tools and instruments of production. The tools and machinery necessary for bringing wealth into being are not owned by the users. The land and raw materials are privately owned. Apart from the workers there is a separate class who, owning the tools of production, having the power to refuse the non-possessors access to the means of life, lay down the conditions under which alone those tools shall be operated. One of the conditions is that the wealth when produced shall belong, not to the producer, but to the owner of the tools of production.

The producers have no claim or title to the things they have brought into being; but some of their product is necessary for their sustenance, and wealth is distributed among them in exchange for the wages which are paid them for their labour power. These wages are exchanged for food, clothing, and shelter, and the existing poverty is due to the fact that the wages provided are not sufficient to enable them to purchase the requisite amount of those necessities.

Can this defect be removed? Can the capitalist system be reformed to alter this obvious fault? That it cannot be is soon seen by a glance at modern capitalism.

In the first place we have to recognise an antagonism of interests between the workers or wage-earners and the non-workers or masters of the tools of production. The workers strive to increase their wages so that they may buy back a larger share of their product. The masters, who enter the field of production in order to obtain money, realise that the greater the share of the wealth given to the producers the smaller will be the portion left for them. Moreover, each concern is competing with its neighbour, and each country has its competitors abroad, and as in order to obtain the money they require they must sell the workers' product in the markets of the world, they have to offer their goods at the lowest price.

The article of merchandise has no value in itself to the capitalist. The investor in coal mines does not want the coal. Rockefeller does not consume the oil produced from the springs in which he is "interested." These commodities will exchange for gold, and to obtain gold is the immediate object of the capitalist. Each commodity will exchange for so much gold, and to enlarge his share or profit he must obtain his goods as cheaply as he can; he must pay as low a wage as possible for the production of a given amount of commodities.

The capitalist, therefore, cannot increase wages relative to the product—on the contrary, he must reduce them, for there being almost continually a greater supply of any commodity than is in demand, his article must be cheaper in order to displace the goods of others.

Individual wages may rise, as may rates of wages. If a new process be introduced into production which enables one well-fed man to produce an article in the same time as was previously occupied by two ill-fed ones, then the wage of the one may be raised in order that he may obtain the better quality of food. The

wages bill, however, will not be increased, for one man gets the "sack" and receives no wages at all.

In some industries to day the rate of wages has increased from 6d. to 9d. per hour, but the men are speeded up to such an extent that they double their output in eight hours, while they previously worked ten. Thus they divide the number employed by two, and the total wage paid by the master is less, while his profit may have increased.

Again, if the cost of living increases then money wages may gradually rise, but real wages may decline all the time.

There is at the present moment a demand on all sides for an increase in wages, and in some trades it is claimed that an increase can be shown. But alongside that we have to place other facts—firstly, that this is merely an increase in the rate of wages, and does not take into consideration the increasing and ever-lengthening periods of unemployment, and also that the Board of Trade returns show that a wage of £1 to day is but equivalent to a wage of 16s. 3d. in 1895. Money wages have not increased 25 per cent. during the same period, consequently wages have fallen.

The continual introduction of machinery turning out ever more and more wealth with the same or a lesser expenditure of labour power, continually glut the markets of the world. The restricted purchasing power of the mass of the community forces the masters to check the increase by discharging their employees, and so a constant army of unemployed is created, still further reducing both the total wage bill and the total purchasing power of the worker.

The fact is that for capitalism to continue profits must increase and wages relatively decline, and to increase wages would ultimately smash the capitalist system.

Unemployment, low-paid wages, poverty and destitution are necessary for the continuation of the system, and to remove the one we must abolish the other. The basis of the capitalist system is the cause of the evil, and as no reform can alter it the system must go. How this can best be done may be the subject of a further article.

TWZ.

SOCIALISM VERSUS THE SERVILE STATE.

We have heard a good deal this last six months or so in various quarters about the Servile State. According to Mr. Hilaire Belloc, the author of a book possessing that title, we of the working class are in danger of becoming slaves as a result of modern social legislation.

Belloc is cute enough to recognise that this legislation, while approved in principle by many so-called Socialist bodies, such as the Fabian Society and the I.L.P., is not Socialism, and does not make for Socialism. He shows ably enough that the nationalisation and municipalisation of public services, coupled with various measures, such as the Labour Exchange and the Insurance Act, so far from emancipating the workers, only tighten their bonds and give greater security to the capitalist class.

Nevertheless, he is illogical enough to go on calling the reformers, who applaud these things, Socialists, and even to deny that genuine Socialism is the objective of anybody. Mr. Belloc appears to imagine that the Socialist shrinks from confiscating the property of the capitalist class, and further, takes for granted that social reforms will give the workers security and sufficiency.

Both these arguments are false. The man who has not assimilated the fact that the workers are robbed every day of their lives, and that the capital which the masters possess is simply the accumulated fruits of that robbery, is in no fit condition to teach working-class people.

Further, everyday experience testifies to the utter failure of reforms to prevent starvation and poverty in all its forms. It is, again, an unwarrantable assumption that such social reforms as are actually practicable have been and are being adopted as the result of "Socialist" agitation.

Social reform is as old as capitalism. It proceeds from the development of industry, which

is ever compelling the capitalist class to re-adapt the machinery of government to new conditions, if they would exploit the labour of the wage-earners as economically as possible.

The attempt to popularise reforms is only one method of preserving to the masters the allegiance of the workers on the political field.

In so far as Belloc's arguments imply that the Fabian Society and the I.L.P. are the tools of the capitalist class, this writer agrees with him. I fall out with him when he tells us that the workers are exchanging freedom for security.

On the contrary, we claim that the workers are slaves now, and have been since the establishment of capitalism, and that slavery under modern conditions must be wage-slavery, which implies competition and insecurity.

Let us take Mr. Belloc's own definition of slavery. He gives it, for example, in "Everyman" (29.11.12) as: "A society in which any considerable body of men can be compelled to labour by positive law to the advantage of others is a servile society."

Now the only way the law can compel anybody to do anything is by penalising them for not doing it. Can Mr. Belloc tell us of any alternative to wage-earning which men without property can adopt without being legally punished? Stealing, begging, wandering about without visible means of subsistence—all these are punishable offences. Even if a wage-earner attempts to commit suicide he has to be successful if he wants to avoid the law! Altogether it would seem that the capitalist class has got all the laws necessary to compel the propertyless to work, and if wage-earning is not working for the benefit of the capitalists it would be interesting to know what object these benevolent individuals have in employing us.

The differences between wage-slavery and other forms of slavery have been admirably summarised by Marx in "Value, Price, and Profit." Says he in Chapter IX:—

"Although one part only of the workman's daily labour is paid, while the other part is unpaid, and while that unpaid or surplus labour constitutes exactly the fund out of which surplus value or profit is formed, it seems as if the aggregate labour was paid labour."

"This false appearance distinguishes wages labour from other historical forms of labour. On the basis of the wages system even the unpaid labour seems to be paid labour. With the slave, on the contrary, even that part of his labour which is paid appears to be unpaid. Of course, in order to work the slave must live, and one part of his working day goes to replace the value of his own maintenance. But since no bargain is struck between him and his master, . . . all his labour seems to be given away for nothing."

"Take, on the other hand, the peasant serf. This peasant worked, for example, three days for himself on his own field or the field allotted to him, and the subsequent three days he performed compulsory and gratuitous labour on the estate of his lord. Here, then, the paid and unpaid parts of labour were sensibly separated, in time and space."

"In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory six hours daily for himself and six for his employer, comes to the same, although in the latter case the paid and unpaid portions of labour are inseparably mixed up with each other, and the nature of the whole transaction is completely masked by the intervention of a contract and the pay received at the end of the week."

The wage-earners, be they employed in factory, mine, office, or warehouse, work to produce, not only an equivalent of their wages, but a profit. They are compelled to do this by the fear of starvation which is necessarily imposed on them by the owners of the means of producing wealth. The only difference between their reward and the reward of serfs and slaves is the fact that it takes the shape of money and is called wages—albeit it represents on the average just sufficient to enable them to go on working.

There is, however, an important and vital difference between the wage slave and the slave of old—vital to the Socialist because it implies the final abolition of slavery in all its forms.

Unlike the relationship between chattels, serfs, etc., and their lords and masters, the relationship between wage-earners and capitalists is not, *as such*, a personal one. Its basis is essentially economic. That is to say, the wage-earner is forced into his "free contract" with the capitalist firm, trust, or State Department by the lack of the means of producing wealth for himself. The chattel-slave owners and the barons of the Middle Ages used the lash and the sword to drive their slaves to toil. The capitalist has no need to resort to such "barbarous" practices. It is the fear of starvation which causes the propertyless to turn up at the factory or wherever they may be employed.

Moreover, the wage-earner is not tied to any one capitalist. He may leave his master, though he must, of course, find another. The modern worker is a self-selling commodity. He exchanges his labour-power, embodied in his brain and muscle, for money, which will buy him the necessities of subsistence.

Now the fact that the labour-power is an article of sale implies that the product of labour is for sale also. The wage-earners do not produce wealth for the personal consumption of their masters as did the chattel slave and the serf. They produce for the social market, and it is from that market, the common stores of society, that they as well as the capitalists draw their material requirements.

The specialisation of the industrial processes, the development of machinery and the means of communication and transit, have, under the auspices of the capitalists, revolutionised the character of production. They have broken down all the petty local barriers that separated men from each other; they have torn asunder the personal ties between the producers and the parasites; they have, in short, developed to maturity the social element in the production of wealth.

The fact that all wealth is, to-day, expressed in terms of money is but an indication of this. All articles of wealth are articles of sale. The workers of the world are knit together in one vast system of production and distribution, dominated by the power of gold, of capital. But in achieving this capital has played its part—its time is up.

So long as the workers were isolated and produced chiefly for their own wants, money was barely necessary. When, by improvements in tools and skill, the workers became able to produce a considerable surplus of special products, the exchange of these products rendered money indispensable. Hence there developed the buyers and sellers, the merchants, forerunners of the modern capitalists.

These men had an incentive in encouraging production for sale instead of for use. By fraud and force they destroyed the independence won by the handicraftsmen and peasants from their feudal superiors, and converted them into wage-earners—but they called into existence forces which are now hopelessly beyond their control. By developing co-operation between the workers throughout the world's factories, fields and offices they have undermined their own system.

The perfection of transit and communication has reduced buying and selling to a sheer formality. The merchant of old was an essential factor in production and distribution. To-day the "investor" or modern capitalist is a speculator pure and simple. All actually necessary economic processes are performed by wage-earners, men and women possessing no means of livelihood other than the sale of their energies. The capitalist is a parasite, a being divorced from the rest of society by every social consideration.

This development has two results which cut to the heart the servile State which has existed, save for brief transitional epochs, since the dawn of private property and civilisation. On the one hand it has enormously increased the quantity and variety of articles of food, clothing, and shelter capable of being produced. The standard of living it is possible to provide everyone with to-day would stagger the imagination of men of past ages. On the other hand, the time necessary for each individual to take part in production has been enormously reduced. Men and women work long hours, yet there are hundreds of thousands able to work who are not doing so. Further, there are innumerable

occupations which are only necessary because of the existence of this anarchic system of production.

Organise production and distribution scientifically and there would be, not only sufficient of the material necessities for a full, happy life for all, but also the leisure in which to enjoy them, and in which to cultivate other sides of human nature, besides the capacity to indulge in mechanical toil.

The afore there is no longer any reason for the existence of a class separate from and above the workers. So long as the labour of all members of society was necessary to secure the existence of society classes were impossible. As soon as the productive forces had increased sufficiently, leisure and comfort became possible for a few. Hence there arose the struggle for mastery which resulted in the existence of two classes—rich and poor—incidentally wiping out the old tribal and social divisions between men.

To-day, however, the means and methods of production are capable of providing comfort and leisure for all. There is no reason why every individual should not have the opportunity of complete physical and mental development. In other words, class society, founded on the institution of private property, an artificial product of the above-mentioned struggle, is now obsolete. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, based on the common ownership and democratically organised control of the means of producing wealth, and, therefore, of the wealth itself, are now possible. The industrial revolution has taken place. A mental, political, and social revolution is now inevitable. The unity of the workers in the industrial process must express itself sooner or later in the shape of a conscious organisation of the working class, aiming at the possession of the means of production.

Economic evolution has emancipated the workers politically. The modern ruling class, unlike its predecessors, is unable to maintain its supremacy save with the sanction of the workers themselves. It but remains for the workers to organise and withdraw from the masters' control the machinery of government, including the armed forces. The road will then be clear for the establishment of Socialism. Thus must the workers abolish the "Servile State."

To return finally to Belloc, the workers need fear no other form of slavery than that they are subjected to now. The legislation he boggles at only expresses the difference between modern slavery and the slavery of old. Modern wage-slavery is essentially class slavery, as distinguished from personal chattel slavery. Therefore it rests with the agent of the capitalist class as a whole, namely, the bureaucratic State, to maintain that slavery. Social reform is one of its methods of doing it.

Despite all Belloc's arguments, however, our precious "freedom" to leave one capitalist and go to another or starve is not likely to be seriously interfered with. Competition is the mainspring of the existing order, and as such involves "free" labour. But although this is the case, it is indisputable that the characteristic features of the system become more and more pronounced. The gulf between the classes grows wider. The bonds tighten! Fellow workers, prepare for the Revolution! To hell with the Servile State!

E. BODEN.

THE SYNDICALISTS' HARVEST.

"The terrible reality of the French railway strike, which was entered upon with such enthusiasm and hope, but was brought to a sad end by Syndicalist methods, is illustrated by the report of the Union Committee to the forthcoming National General Meeting. The membership before this unlucky strike of this powerful organisation, and the present condition are shown in the following table:

1 July 1910,	57,627 members
1 Jan. 1911,	21,025 "
1 July 1911,	16,487 "
1 Oct. 1911,	14,081 "
1 Jan. 1912,	16,022 "
1 July 1912,	19,490 "
1 Oct. 1912,	20,077 "
1 Jan. 1913,	22,965 "

"International News Letter."

tary, police, and menials, all shall take part in production, and so reduce the time of labour of all workers and allow opportunity for educational and recreative purposes for all. This is Socialism.

It may be claimed that other parties besides the S.P.G.B. say they stand for the same thing. That may be so. But saying they are out for Socialism does not prove that they are earnestly and honestly endeavouring to attain Socialism. If it can be proved that these parties are playing into the hands of the master class that will be quite sufficient to brand them as pseudo-Socialist.

The British Socialist Party, who are no other than the S.D.P. disguised, have played the traitorous rôle times out of number. Putting aside their old record, we find many of their executive thinking more of the safety of capitalist society than of Socialism, and advocating more armaments, and so on. As if the army and navy are used in any other interest than the masters'! For fear of injuring the circulation of privately owned papers ("Justice" and "The Clarion") they fear to publish an official organ, thus keeping the public in the dark as to the nature of their organisation. So topey-turvy is the B.S.P. that Mr. H. Quelch appeals, in "Justice," March 28, to its members not to allow the Anarchists in the Party too much rope!

The Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party can be taken together, for there is really no difference between them. Bossed by "middle-class" men and place-hunters, these parties are preaching a spurious Socialism in the form of nationalisation and municipalisation. The small "middle class," recognising that they can no longer compete successfully against the giant capitalists, realise the chance of obtaining safe national and municipal posts, hence their advocacy of these undertakings.

These parties, through their leaders, will compromise with and openly support the master-class parties, for the purpose of gaining the favour of the capitalists. The man is of poor stuff indeed, who thinks that the Fabian Society and the I.L.P. are Socialist parties.

The Socialist Labour Party is another party that doesn't know where it is. First being indistinct from the Social-Democratic Federation, it wobbled into a state of anarchy, and now, by its tactics of rubbing shoulders with all and sundry, it has become the laughing-stock of all. One of its chiefs is asking that we support Messrs. Leonard Hall, Smart, Grayson and Gaylord Wilshire—all reactionaries. Another shining light of this party says: "I don't know two of these men, but George Lansbury will beat the lot, for look how he supported the women." It is needless to say more of this party, for their chief scribe declares: "The S.L.P. is on its last legs and is about dead."

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is the only Socialist party in this country. Recognising the need for political and economic action by the workers, it has at all times kept clear of compromising and shady tactics. Knowing that if the workers are to be free they themselves must strike the blow, the S.P.G.B. is out to educate the workers in their position in society.

When the wage-slaves understand what this position really is, they will organise themselves into class-conscious political and industrial organisations for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist class and their system. Then the misery and poverty of capitalism will be replaced by the contentment and grandeur of the Socialist Commonwealth. L. MARKS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Call" (New York).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

JOTTINGS.

WHEN the Socialist says that laws are made by the capitalist class in their own interests he is pooh poohed by the unthinking. All the more interesting, therefore, is the admission to this effect by the "Daily News and Leader" of 12th April last.

In a leaderette dealing with Sir Stuart Samuel's expulsion from his Parliamentary seat upon a technicality, the Liberal organ of the chocolate Czar pointed out rightly that "If Sir Stuart Samuel's firm had been a limited company instead of a partnership, the present law would have had nothing to say, and there are many directors in the House of Commons of companies which enter into contracts with the Government." Then follows the admission of the necessity for the political prize-fighters and word-twisters in these words:—

"It ought not to be beyond the CUNNING OF STATESMEN to work out a law based upon a clear principle, which satisfies modern needs."

Further comment would spoil it.

Seldom does the fact of the law being more favourable to one class of the community than the other come to the surface more plainly than in a recent appeal for the reduction of a sentence of three years' penal servitude for manslaughter by a motor-car owner.

Counsel for the appellant, whilst not denying criminal negligence on his client's part, did contend that the sentence was heavy, "having regard to the fact that the prisoner was a man of good birth, and was a motor engineer carrying on his own business." ("Manchester Guardian," 19.3.13.)

From which one gathers that the same sentence upon a man not of good birth, and not carrying on his own business, in other words, a working man, would not have been heavy. If not, why the plea?

The Judges of Appeal agreed that it was a case for arguing and granted the appeal.

Jokes often illustrate essential points. The following is a good example:—

A cabman was asked to drive to the Royal Courts of Justice.

"Where, sir?" queried cabby. "I dunno where they are."

"Surely, cabby, you know them; they're in the Strand."

"Oh! I know, sir. You mean the Law Courts."

Shade of Kynochs! Patriotism seems to be very much the same thing the whole world over. I quote the following from a capitalist paper.

"With the corroboration of official documents, the *Vorwärts* of April 14th exposes an ingenious form of secret Trust, which has been established for the benefit of German manufacturers of shipbuilding materials.

"Whenever a firm is asked by a shipyard for a quotation it sends particulars of the communication to a central office at Dortmund, which then puts all those who have been approached in the matter in touch with one another. After they have agreed among themselves as to the price they are to ask, it is quoted approximately, plus 10 per cent. The manufacturer who finally receives the order remits this 10 per cent. to the central office, which, after deducting a tenth to cover its own expenses, divides the balance among the unsuccessful competitors.

"The *Vorwärts*, which heads its disclosures 'Remunerative Patriotism,' says:

"This is fine business at the cost of the State and the taxpayer, who have thereby been done out of many fair millions. Such patriotism pays. It yields magnificent profits, and there remain over substantial subsidies for the patriotic newspapers which, in the battle for the honour of the German Empire, daily beat the war-drum and prove in black and white that Germany must unquestionably accelerate her naval construction if she does not want to lose her place in the world."

"A Swedish engineer named Ekstedt has invented an ingenious telephone apparatus which is self-receiving and afterwards self-speaking. Further particulars are kept secret, but ex-

perts who have watched the experiments are convinced that the invention is of great importance." ("Daily Telegraph," 15.4.13.)

Hello, Exchange! I say, your number's up!

The saving of wages goes merrily on. Read the following from the "Daily Chronicle":

"Crowds of people were yesterday watching a demonstration of a motor vacuum road cleaning machine, arranged for the benefit of municipal engineers who had gathered from all parts of the country. The machine is the invention of an Italian engineer, and is constructed by Messrs. J. and P. Hill, of Sheffield. It consists of an ordinary-looking commercial motor car. Underneath, in touch with the surface of the road, is a long cylindrical brush, which makes about 120 revolutions a minute in the opposite direction to that of the car. This causes a powerful suction, which gathers up the mud, dust and other refuse, and deposits it into two bins, each holding about a ton. It cleans up everything in its path, from a tram ticket to a large stone.

"Figures given as a result of recent tests at Southport show that the machine will clean 12,000 square yards at a cost of 4s. 4d. as against 11s. 8d. by the old method. Orders have already been placed by the authorities at Glasgow, Manchester and Southport."

Profit to the owner. Starvation to the hireling! J. B.

A PADDINGTON PLACARD.

WE desire to announce to the workers of Kilburn and North Kensington that Paddington Branch is holding meetings at Victoria Rd., High Rd., Kilburn, on Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m., and at Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., North Kensington on Fridays at 8.30 p.m.

This announcement will also constitute an effective salute to "our nearest friends," the sympathetic scribes of the local sheets, who want Socialism in rag-time, please.

They are somewhat perturbed at the approach of summer, and with it the Socialist Party's street-corner propagandists. This should allay their fears.

And then there is that Paddington pest, who revels in mouthing that miserable lie about the Socialists of Great Britain who hibernate during the winter to blossom forth with the flowers in May. There will be no plausible excuse after this—he will know where to find us in future, when he can present a case against us without resorting to dirty innuendoes and lying misrepresentation.

We are enjoying large audiences at Kilburn, and the prospects of forming a branch are promising. The wiesacres of Anti Socialists are in attendance twice a week when sober, and they regale their dupes with the ancient wheezes about us, which occasionally make them grin, but never prompt an intelligent question.

To get the workers to think and act is our business, not theirs, and in making this raid upon the preserves of these agents of reaction and confusion we shall ruthlessly expose and condemn them.

The local B.S.P. members boom the "Daily Herald," advocate Syndicalism, and consciously do everything to frustrate the workers in realising what Socialism is and what it implies. For the workers to support such frauds as these is tantamount to committing suicide. We counsel them to ignore with contempt such a treacherous party. Have nothing to do with them! Attend our meetings, give an attentive hearing to our speakers and question them if need be.

We don't ask you to take for granted what we say just because we say it. We implore you to stop and think—stop and consider what your position in modern society represents. Reflect upon the value life has for you under the present hellish conditions! Listen to the Socialist Party's propaganda and ponder over it. Procure our literature, the finest obtainable, and read it up, because men and women must be educated in order that they may be free.

Then, having achieved education, organise on class lines for the conquest of political power, making for the overthrow of slavery and bringing about the birth of the Society of the future.

BEN CARTHURS.

THE FORUM.

THOSE TEASING TAXES!

S. SMITH (Scunthorpe) writes:—

"I have read your leaflet on Rates and Taxes, but cannot agree as to your views in suggesting that the workers do not pay all the taxes, etc.

"I always thought that the workers produced all and find even the taxes for the idle class. The railways, as you know, pass on the increase of the rise to the public. This is generally the same with all commodities."

Our correspondent argues that the working class pay the taxes on the ground that they produce all wealth. He also holds to that view because he thinks prices of commodities are increased to cover taxation.

Both these theories, however, are disposed of in our leaflet. But for one person to urge both these theories shows that confusion exists upon the matter.

If the working class are held to pay the taxes because they produce all wealth, then the further argument that they pay also in increased prices is quite superfluous. Mr. Smith should first decide which view he will advance.

Both, however, are false. True, the workers produce all wealth. But as they only get a portion of it back—in the shape of wages—they evidently are not in a position to pay for everything. As the average wage of the worker is just enough to keep him in the condition to go on working, his class have no fund out of which to pay the millions that are levied in taxes. Those who take the major portion of the wealth—the capitalists—must pay the taxes, etc., out of the "profits" wrung from the working class.

Our friend says that the railways pass on the increase of the rise to the public. I presume he refers to a rise in the wages of railway employees.

This is another matter, but it has one feature in common with the question of taxation which shows it to be fallacy. If the railway companies could raise their rates upon an increase of wages, why their fierce resistance to the demands for higher wages? If merchants and traders can simply pass the increase in the taxes on to the "public," why do they also make such a determined effort to prevent taxes being raised? These questions await an answer.

Even if the railway companies could raise their rates it would affect the employers more than the workers.

The major portion of the income of railways here is derived from "goods traffic," and a very great part of the passenger income proceeds from the pockets of the "idle class." Though railways environ every city and stretch out across the country, the chance of the workers visiting distant spots is more remote than ever.

But one need not worry. The railway companies, just like traders, have themselves confessed their small chance of getting higher prices. They fear to increase their charges, knowing that directly they do so their income falls. This is the case, of course, especially with the worker. The brewers and publicans told us that the quantity of liquors sold declined rapidly when they tried to get higher prices. They know how true it is that the workers' purchasing powers are strictly limited, and that a rise in prices means a fall in the quantity sold.

The railways, like the merchants, fight against rising wages and rising taxes. When, however, they are defeated and a rise is effected, they sometimes try and get increased prices on the ground that "the cost has gone up." But how seldom the pretext succeeds every student of current affairs can testify.

Taxes or no taxes, property owners are always seeking and getting the highest prices that the market will sustain. Rising wages and taxes are only lame excuses to "feel the pulse" of the consuming world.

One fact has driven home the truth of our position very greatly recently. During the past seven years the taxes upon the common necessities of life have been continually reduced, yet the rise in the prices of those articles has been, and still is, phenomenal.

That alone should convince any worker that prices are not governed by taxation.

A. KOHN.

[Your second letter of enquiry, which came to hand too late to be considered in the present issue, will be answered next month. Ed.]

THE RATE OF SURPLUS-VALUE.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Watford.

Sir, Seeing that a definite statement is made (Young's article: "Economics in Brief," 1.1.13) that constant capital creates no value, and that two illustrations are given wherein a surplus of 33 per cent. of the total outlay is mentioned, in the other a surplus of 66 per cent. of the total outlay. If constant capital creates no value does it not follow that the worker has been exploited to the extent of 100 per cent. in each case?

Yours, etc., F. G. PARLEY.

It is quite true that on our assumption the workers have been exploited to the extent of 100 per cent. in each case. The rate of exploitation is the proportion of the surplus-value created by the workers to the amount they receive in wages. For example: If a value of 100 is created by the workers and they receive but 50 there remains a surplus of 50, and the rate of surplus-value or exploitation is 100 per cent.

In the particular portion of the article you refer to I was dealing with the rate of profit. But I was careful not to use the term profit, for this would not have been strictly correct. The term surplus on the outlay was preferred, for, as was stated in an earlier part of the article, the industrial capitalist cannot retain the whole of the surplus-value for himself, but has to pay over certain portions to the financial capitalist in the form of interest, and to the ground landlord in the form of rent, etc.

Profit, therefore, is that portion of the surplus-value that remains after all expenses have been considered, and the rate of profit is the proportion of this to the total capital which is invested.

The fact that other expenses may be incurred does not in the least affect our illustration if we assume that they are the same in each case.

H. A. Y.

PROFITS BEFORE LIFE.

"The profits will not allow it."

Rarely has the plain, tragic truth been so bluntly stated by a capitalist as on April 28th in the Westminster Coroner's Court.

The Coroner was holding an inquiry into the "accident" that took place upon a building in course of erection in High Holborn.

Two and a half tons of iron was being hoisted by a crane "made to take three tons." Everything was brand new.

Henry James Matthews a lad of 18, acting as a crane signaller, was killed as the result of the chain of the crane breaking.

After the poor lad's brother had given evidence, the Coroner called a member of the firm that made the chain.

After great difficulty the Coroner got the makers to give evidence. The secretary of the company that supplied it offered the Coroner some certificates, but said that he knew nothing about the chain itself.

The Coroner was forced to remark that "it seems a very casual way of doing things when a man's life is at stake."

Finally a member of the manufacturing firm told the Coroner that he had been asked to attend "to listen to the evidence. He was asked by the Coroner: 'After testing do you go over the chain to see if there are any cracks?'

The answer was a remarkable indictment of this cursed system of society, for he said:

"NO, THE PROFITS WILL NOT ALLOW OF IT!"

"I am not talking about profits," retorted the Coroner, "I am talking about the safety of human life."

After some further questions the Coroner was led to say: "You are perfectly well aware of what you are talking about. It is no use trying to befuddle me. You are trying to ride round the subject."

A link of the chain was handed to the witness and he was asked why, although the link had snapped, it showed no signs of fracture. All he could say to the point was: "It shows no signs of fracture."

The Coroner said that "looking at the surface of the link you can see it is not a fracture, and that the metal had never been properly welded."

Frederick John Parkes, Factory Inspector, said that the quality of the workmanship of the link was very bad indeed and that the metal was defective. It had not been properly welded.

Even the representative of the building company had to confess that he "found the rest of the chain not perfect."

This is the plain, unvarnished evidence, as reported in the "Evening News" (28.4.13). And it bears out to the fullest extent the charge of the Socialist that men are sacrificed to the hunt for profits. You have here the capitalist confession as given in a capitalist paper.

A lad of 18 is done to death! At an age when the sons of the parasite master class are enjoying themselves in the playing fields of Eton or Harrow, or Oxford or Cambridge, a worker's child is manipulating two and a half tons of iron with a "brand new" but rotten chain—because the employers want "profits."

In the interest of profit women and girls are sweated in the chain-making sheds of Cradley Heath, and after years of struggle against the employers they are allowed 2½d. an hour!

The story of profit mongering is the record of the sacrifice of human lives to the parasites' interests.

Col. H. A. Yorke, of the Board of Trade, said in his report of the 19th September last, that during the year 2,934 accidents occurred due to failure of couplings—made of iron—on the railways.

"A weldless steel coupling has been tried and has given very satisfactory results, but"—(Ah, that all-meaning "but"!)"—unfortunately it costs rather more than the iron coupling. The accidents," the Colonel said, "frequently result in injuries to the men." But what matters that when it is a case of workmen's lives against PROFITS?

"Even if a little more money were spent upon it it would still be the cheapest coupling in the world," declares Col. Yorke, but his Department, the infamous Board of Trade (of Titanic memory), being anxious only for the capitalists' welfare, lets the matter rest, whilst the murdered are carried in a ghastly procession to their eternal home.

Toilers may be slaughtered so that the "White" Star Line may pay 60 per cent. dividend. Shunters may be shunted into an early grave to enable the railway companies to make 50 millions profit in a twelvemonth. Dynamite makers may be blown to atoms (as at Pitsea last month) so that the dynamitards may give "Peace prizes." All this may be done to make a merry England for our masters.

It will only cease when the workers awake to the fact that this system stands for murder and robbery—stands in the way of the safety, the well-being, the happiness of humanity—of the wealth producers. A. KOHN.

"SOCIALISM versus TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

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" " "	7.30 A. Kohn	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Clapham Common	3.30 A. Kohn	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	J. G. Stone	F. J. Rourke
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	A. Bays	J. Fitzgerald
Forest Gate (Station)	7.30 C. Gatter	H. King	A. Jacobs	A. Timms
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Hoskyns	J. G. Stone	A. Kohn	J. Le Carte
Ilford (station)	7.30 F. J. Rourke	J. Brown	C. Gatter	H. King
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" " "	7.30 R. Hughes	A. Bays	J. Myles	C. Parker
Parliament Hill	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	W. Lewington	T. W. Allen
Peckham Triangle	7.30 C. Baggett	B. Young	S. Blake	J. G. Stone
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 S. Blake	C. Baggett	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn
Stoke Newington, Eddy Rd., Dulles	12.0 J. G. Stone	J. Fitzgerald	H. King	A. Jacobs
Tooting Broadway	11.30 E. Lake	C. Elliott	A. Barker	H. Cooper
" " "	7.30 S. Blake	H. Cooper	J. Roe	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Timms	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	C. Baggett
" " "	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	A. Pearson	A. Bays
Waltham Green Church	7.30 J. Roe	C. Elliott	C. Gatter	E. Lake
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Sta.	7.30 A. Jacobs	C. Gatter	A. Timms	J. Myles
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 B. Young	W. Lewington	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald
Watford Market Place	7.30 J. Myles	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N.**FRIDAYS.**—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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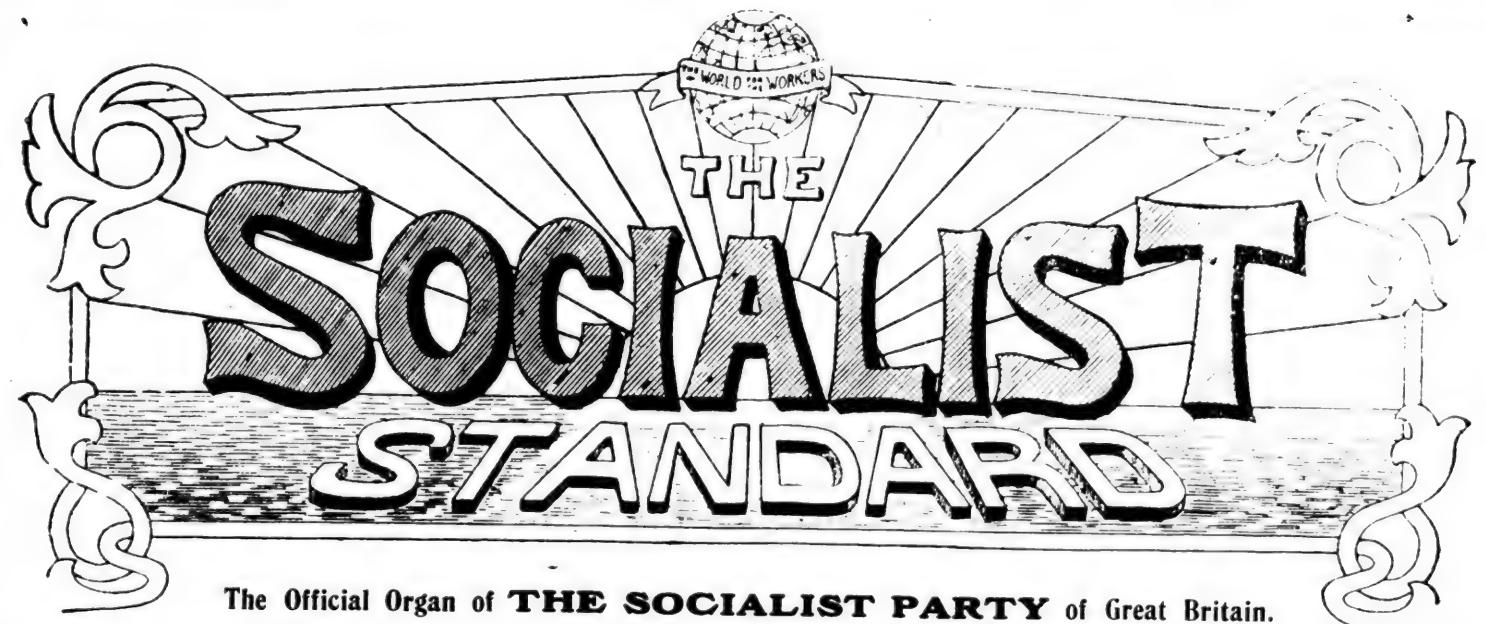
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

PUBLIC SAFETY V. RAILWAY PROFITS.

I. THE CLEANER.

The workers in general, and railwaymen in particular, have heard a great deal respecting the "safety of the public" and the "welfare of the country" from the masters and their hangers-on just lately. We also saw the letter of Mr. A. K. Butterworth (General Manager N.E.R.) to driver Knox; and, unfortunately, **Fateful** since then one or two "accidents" have **Letter.** taken place which might well make the man in the street wonder whether a train is altogether safe to ride in.

We have in front of us a very big and important question, and it would be impossible in a short article to treat it in all its branches. I propose to deal with a section of the railway workers and their conditions of service, about whom the people know very little; and, as is always the case in like circumstances, a section that is lied about by the prostitute Press and orators of the master class, in the hope of turning public opinion against them. I refer to the men employed in what is known as the "Running Section" of the Locomotive Department of the lines. Let me explain.

The Loco. Dept. consists of all men connected with the Loco. shed work, and also the "running" section, but these latter are classed separately from the rest of the employees because they are employed to "run" the road. The men are doubtless better known as drivers, firemen, and cleaners.

A glance at the title of this article would seem to open up a question of safety in the mind of the thoughtful reader, and I have no hesitation in saying that, as at present run, safety is not the first consideration of the railway magnates. It is profit they think of first, and the services are not safe for many reasons, all of which have a direct bearing on the making of profit.

If safety was the first consideration of the companies, obviously the men who actually work the trains, viz., drivers and firemen, would be assured of a decent living so as to keep them fit for their perilous duties; also the machines they work would be kept thoroughly roadworthy and in the pink of condition. This, however, I know from experience with two of the leading companies in this country, is not the case.

The men are sadly overworked; their machines, many of them, are not properly roadworthy, and their wages, especially considering their responsibility, are low.

Before going any further it would, perhaps, be as well to look into the conditions of service of the men, as these conditions have a direct bearing on the safety of the services. In doing this we shall have to start with the lad who, after passing a medical examination at the hands of the railway doctor, and an eyesight test at the hands of the Loco. Superintendent or his deputy, starts in the

service as an engine cleaner. This is the lad who will be a fireman at some future time, and then driver.

The safety question will not be greatly dealt with in looking at the conditions of the cleaner, for he is not yet "on the road." Nevertheless it is necessary, I think, to examine the conditions under which he works, if only to see what qualifications he has for taking up the duties of fireman when his turn comes. We shall see that no provision is made to properly teach him the various parts of his engine, and that his daily work becomes a bore to him through the speed ing up to which he is subjected.

On most of the trunk lines the lads start at 18 or older, so as to take their turn on night work. They begin by cleaning shunting engines, and are usually on for 10½ working hours and start at 17s. a week as a rule. These engines are nearly always in a very bad condition, and the lads have to work hard—many such engines running a fortnight without having a "wiper" put on them.

About twelve months of this, and then comes the first promotion—to local passenger engines, which are kept almost as dirty. The lads as a rule get 2d. a day rise then, and work in gangs, the work amounting to 1½ engines per man per night (very little or no day work is the rule when on these engines), so that the cleaners are no better off for their extra 1s. a week.

The lads then get another "promotion," and go on tender engines. Further speeding-up is now resorted to by reducing the working hours to 9, in which time the lads have to clean the mammoth locomotives of to-day. A number of companies have the "contract" cleaner, who has always the same engine to clean. It is, however, impossible to clean the biggest modern engines in 9 hours—indeed, they would in some cases take nearer 20. So a great deal of the engine is "left."

The "contract" cleaner has no appointed time on duty. He has to vary with the "turn" of his engine, which means turning out at all hours of the day or night. A holiday is an unlooked for privilege, and even a day off in the summer is more than many dare ask for.

The man, having his regular engine, takes a pride in it, and would kick up a noise if he were barred going on his machine because it has only a "light" trip "on" it, which often is the case. It is a rule that if an engine looks anything like "respectable" it can "run round," thus overworking the cleaner by making him "tear off" two or three trips instead of one.

I may say here that the wages of these men are the highest paid for cleaning (the G.N.R. in London district formerly paid 10d. per day) but they are rapidly disappearing, and are now

almost a thing of the past.

The directors and shareholders demanding a greater return on their investments, expenses have to be cut down, regardless of safety or anything else. So a number of companies clean their engines by piece work, at miserable rates, and the wages of the man then depends upon how he "stands" with the foreman. (This system has recently been introduced on the G.N.) Another system extensively employed is to have the work done by day work by gangs, the men getting different engines daily. Under this method no pride can be taken by the cleaners in the machines.

Under both the last-mentioned systems the "contract" man is done away with because he is not cheap enough. Engines go out two, three, or four days without a clean, so it is impossible for a driver to make a minute inspection of the parts to see they are not broken. This, which is a very important matter affecting the "welfare of the public," and the fact that an engine may "run hot" and delay several trains, besides causing a great inconvenience on and off the shed, and a host of other things, are thrown to the winds in the interest of increased dividends. If a machine fails and the driver cannot give a "satisfactory" explanation to the Loco. Superintendent, he can be fined and thus help to swell the coffers of the human vampires that live upon him.

To sum up, the highest standing wage a cleaner can depend upon is in the neighbourhood of 19s. a week on the trunk lines, for which he puts in at least 54 hours. In the country the wages paid are much lower.

The state of the engines proves conclusively that there are not nearly enough men, and what men there are are immensely overworked, with plenty of dirt, night-work, inconvenience to self and family, bad smells on shed, and the lads often working feet deep in hot water. In addition there is a good deal of bullying from the foreman, who is generally a man who has failed on the footplate.

The average period a man does cleaning is about four years, and from the way he is overworked there is no chance for him to learn much about his engine. Nor is he given a rules-book in order to enable him to make himself acquainted with the rules of the road (the Midland does give rules-books after six months). There are, however, "educational classes" on some companies (e.g., the G.N.), but they are not successful, and the attendance is small. The men have to attend in their own time, and with their state of overwork, and that great curse, overtime, it is not to be wondered at that very few attend the classes, the lecturers at which are rule-book drivers.

A Premium on Ignorance.

In working hours the lads are sent home or fined for trifling offences, and kept in abject slavery, so their mind is turned against their work. As a result of these conditions they can not take it up with the interest necessary to become good engineers and to befit them to be in charge of trains. It is, therefore, little wonder that, at the end of four years or so, when the lad goes up to "pass" for a spare fireman, he often fails in the exam.—which means more shed slavery, or, what is the rule on a number of lines, the sack.

Those who get through, however, owing to the unscientific way they are trained and the low wages paid, are not fit, from the point of view of public safety, to be in charge of an engine—which, by the way, is quite in accordance with the standing orders of capitalism and the production of profit.

"And the unscientific training of engineers through their period as cleaners, is pretty well certain to last until the system that trains men for profit instead of for usefulness and safety is swept into oblivion."

J. SEVIER.

(To be Continued.)

THE FORUM.

"GAS AND WATER POLITICS."

REPLY TO CLER. SMITH.

Municipal administration is unattractive to the average man, mainly because of its limited scope and relative impotency. "Gas and water politics" is a contemptuous phrase, but it is not unmerited from the standpoint of the man in the tram. In the main, local council work is confined to the administration of the laws made by Parliament, while its expenditure is checked by the Local Government Board. The revolutionary Socialist (and no Socialist is otherwise) therefore realises that the success of a Socialist majority on a local council does not mean that the district in question can escape from its capitalist environment, or even that any fundamental change can be made in the lives of the workers. The central power must be held by the working class before local administration can be fully utilised in the workers' interest, and even then it must first be transformed.

That being so, what is the use of Socialist municipal activity at all, one may ask. The answer is plain. It is just as useful as Parliamentary action so long as the workers' party is in the minority. It is a necessary part of the workers' task of taking possession of capitalist society for their own purpose. A Socialist minority in Parliament is a centre of revolt, a fighting vanguard, a focus of working-class enlightenment and organisation. The Socialist municipal minority or majority is not less than this. In Parliament the workers will wrest from the ruling class, during the fight for Socialism, every advantage obtainable, and in local administration they will use the limited local powers to the advantage of their class in the struggle, ignoring or smashing the municipal machinery where it does not lend itself to work useful to Socialism.

Every locality captured is a new centre of resistance to capital, a fresh corner of the territory wrested from the enemy. That the Socialist municipality will have a lively time goes without saying, but it will hardly be isolated. Socialism spreads in all districts, and the struggle will be going on centrally as well as in each industrial area.

Vital as it is to the Socialist to regard the whole question of political action from this revolutionary point of view, he is not blind to the fact that drains must be kept clear, the water supply maintained, and services necessary to the worker carried on, if only to enable the revolutionary struggle to continue. With the Socialist capture of a local council, moreover, despite the open war and attempts at suppression by the ruling class, something can be done to help the workers in their fight. The whole local administration will then cease to be bitterly anti-working class—and this means much. Every item that can be turned to working class advantage will be used. Strikers will be helped. Strenuous efforts will be made to utilize education for Socialism, to raise the wages of municipal employees and shorten hours of labour;

while capitalists generally will be resisted in their repression of the proletariat.

Given the then almost inevitable ripeness of the working class in the whole country for the revolution, the attempts of the central power to stamp out the Socialist council will fan into flame the general revolt against capital, and will hasten the day of the complete control of society by the organised working class.

This being the case, it is easy to see that the Socialist is not vitally concerned with such questions as "Should we make a profit at all in municipal concerns?" and "If a neighbouring district wants gas from us, can we supply them at the same rate as our own consumers?"

These are queries sent to the Socialist Standard by Councillor S. Smith, of Scunthorpe, in an evidently sincere desire to know the Socialist position. Unlike Mr. Smith, we do not trouble about the rates, because we know that it by the profit on municipal trading rates were abolished, the landlords would reap the whole of the benefit. The question has already been dealt with.

It is, indeed, a principle even of orthodox political economy that rates are a charge on rent. The price of housing accommodation to the consumer is made up of rent and rates. The higher the latter the less the consumer is prepared to give in rent, other things being equal. It is the landlord who ultimately is out of pocket by the rates—and well he knows it!

If it were necessary to answer questions which are based on complete divergence from Socialist views, it might be pointed out that all profit on municipal undertakings would be absorbed in attempting to pay decent wages to the workers engaged in them. But the working class cannot be recruited for Socialism on a program of milk and water. The strong meat of Socialism itself alone can tempt them to sink their petty private interests and unite with all their fellows on the broad class interest of proletarian emancipation. A diet of gas and water leaves them utterly unsatisfied. Nothing short of the prospect of obtaining collectively the whole fruit of their labour will ever unite them all, or be worth fighting for; and only in so far as municipal activity is a necessary incident in the great and conclusive struggle for Socialism will it be worth the attention of the organised working class at all.

W.

WHY WE MUST ORGANISE POLITICALLY AND INDUSTRIALLY.

M. GEESON (Toronto) writes:—

"In reading the editorial of the S.S. for February 1913, I came across a statement which I would like you to explain a little fuller. The statement is this: 'In regard to the revolutionary economic organisation the Socialist position is identical. That such an organisation will be called for as part of the organisation of the working class for the achievement of their emancipation must be admitted by every Socialist.' The question I would like to ask is, does not the political organisation exterminate the economic organisation, or vice versa, as the case may be, for one or the other must be incorrect for the emancipation of the working class, and if that is so a person accepting the double position must, consciously or unconsciously, deny the class struggle."

It would have been much easier to deal with this matter had Mr. Geeson attempted to support his statements with arguments. As life is too short, and energy, at the present price of provisions, too valuable, to permit one or the other to be wasted in slogging at ideas which perhaps exist neither in Mr. Geeson's mind nor in anybody else's, the present penman is forced back on to the request for a fuller explanation.

The emancipation of the working class must not be conceived as a simple, single step to be taken either on the political or the industrial field. It is nothing of the kind. On the contrary it is to be a process, and an elaborate process at that, carried out upon both the political field and the industrial.

The process commences on the political field, and ends on the economic. That, at all events, is the Socialist position. The Anarchist position is that it commences on the economic field and ends there. A certain party in this country

(the S.L.P.) has taken up the position that it commences upon the economic field and ends on the political. It is left for Mr. Geeson, however, to complete the round in the implication that the process of emancipation begins and ends in the political arena.

Now the Socialist and the Anarchist argue that the end aimed at is economic transformation. The former says that, under present conditions, this transformation must be preceded by the capture of the machinery of Government, while the latter cries out upon political action. The S.L.P. man stands upon his head and does his thinking with his feet, for the implication of his position is that we must bring about Socialism in order to capture the political machinery. But Mr. Geeson—ah! courtesy forbids.

The Anarchist thinks that the machinery of government is to be overthrown by merely ramming the people's heads against it. They would oppose the rifle and bayonet, the prison and the hangman's noose, with the petard that so often goes off in its maker's pocket, and the hunger-strike that so effectively prevents its devotees doing any mischief. Such people, logically enough, have no use for political action, and hence no use for a political organisation.

The Socialist, on the other hand, holds that the process of emancipation involves, first of all, the disarming of the master class. This must be the fruit of a political struggle, and therefore renders political organisation necessary at all events up to the time of its achievement.

But would Mr. Geeson have matters stop there? Does he think that the emancipation of the master class and the decreeing of the working class is completed with the disarmament of the master class? It is quite a while now since food came down from heaven. It is because we can only feed, clothe, and shelter ourselves through the means and instruments of production and distribution that we are going to so much trouble to obtain possession of these means and instruments. But they will no more operate themselves as the common property of society than they do as the private property of a class. On the contrary, their economical operation will, for obvious reasons, call for far more perfect organisation than exists to-day.

Such organisation is, of course, economic, not political. It is economic from the very nature of things—from the very fact that it is organisation on the economic field for an economic purpose. Whatever the organisation may call itself, or whatever its members may think themselves, directly it takes concerted action on the economic field, the action is necessarily economic action and the result of organised economic effort. Such action becomes imperative for the simple reason that when the political organisation has shot its bolt, or, if you like it better, when the revolutionary working-class organisation has shot its political bolt, it has not by any means emancipated the working class. It has only, by destroying the State, made it possible for the workers to complete their emancipation. This they must do by taking possession of the means by which alone they can live, and operating them intelligently and collectively so that they may live.

This, then, is what we mean when we say that the workers must organise both politically and economically. The emancipation of the working class necessitating organised action upon both the political and the economic plane, obviously necessitates both political and economic organisation.

A. E. J.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Call" (New York).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

HERE AND THERE.

The Belgian national strike has passed away quite tamely. The strikers have had to accept something less—a good deal less—than the fulfilment of their demands. Like the trade unionists of this and every other country, their inability to hold out compels them to compromise. The Belgians, if they were affected with Syndicalism, did not act according to its tenet—that the working class can effect their emancipation by "economic action." If they really possessed the Syndicalist faith they would not have taken action on the industrial field to make the political weapon or means more effective.

A significant factor of the movement is the assistance that has been given by the capitalist class: "The list of subscriptions being notable for the numerous amounts which are over a thousand francs." Some Belgian workers may imagine they are participating in a revolutionary movement; it would, however, be nearer the truth to say that they are being used by the manufacturing and trading sections of the capitalist class for their purposes against the Catholic extreme right and the so-called reactionaries.

* * *

The German "Socialist" Party are just as considerate of their jobs in the Reichstag as are the Labour Members in the British Parliament. Charged with being antagonistic to religion, they dare not admit the impeachment, nor could they afford to ignore it. Knowing they were not the representatives of class-conscious workers, whose conceptions are materialistic, they could only shuffle. They declared that the Chancellor had absolutely no authority for such a statement.

There is no difference or distinction between the German and the English labour leaders, except, perhaps, that the latter anticipate the needs of the ruling class by encouraging religious beliefs at P.S.A. meetings, and by striking off the demand for secular education from the T.U.C. annual fare.

* * *

According to Mr. Samuel's the "Savings Bank indicates general national well being, the deposits amounting to five and a half millions."

Spread over the whole working class this sum would give about 5s. 6d. per head—our share of the great boom in trade over and above the cost of living. Truly we have much to be thankful for, and if there were no Post Office to take charge of this enormous wealth, no dreadnoughts, soldiers, and police to protect our five and a tanner, what a temptation for burglars and foreigners!

* * *

Co-partnership is the curative syrup for all capitalist ills just now. Fabians recommend it, Liberal and Tory newspapers have given it their blessing, and business men who have tried it are loud in their praises. It has a double effect in its application—it increases profits and stifles labour "unrest."

Some sociological and political experts, indeed, regard it as the solution, *par excellence*, for the labour troubles. The hard-headed, unscientific capitalist, who has "no soul above immediate profits," is, however, somewhat sceptical, and not without reason. For profit-sharing in at least one case was productive of labour trouble.

* * *

The instance in question was recounted at a fashionable gathering of co-partnership apostles, at Lord and Lady Brassey's, in Park Lane—a meeting arranged for the purpose of devising ways and means of sharing profits with the workers—something eminently desirable from the Park Lane point of view. One speaker said that he offered shares to his employees, one of whom took up a hundred. Next day in the workshop he remonstrated with a fellow workman for wasting the gas. The reply was: "Oh, there are too many blooming policemen about this business!" (just what we say) and the following day the whole of the employees struck work.

* * *

At this same fashionable mothers' meeting

Sir William Lever pointed out that it was an essential of success that the profit to be divided must first be created by better working, greater saving of waste, and increased output. But what a generous and philanthropic arrangement for the workers! They increase their exertions until the foreman or manager comes to the conclusion that some of them are not wanted. The wages of the latter are then shared, the shareholders and managers, of course, getting the lion's share, while those who are squeezed out ask plaintively: "What are you going to do with us?"

It is very poor consolation to these that their fellow workers, who are sharing a fraction of what they once received as wages, will the sooner come to grief on the industrial scrap-heap—because of their increased exertions and the excessive competition that co-partnership sets up.

* * *

The Taxi-drivers claimed a complete victory in their recent fight with the owners, because their resistance for the time being achieved its immediate object. They resumed work in a triumphant frame of mind, claiming victory, notwithstanding that they had still to submit to the capitalist yoke. Apart, of course, from the fact that the struggle is necessary under present conditions, what is the real value of all such victories? A mere skirmish for a paltry concession won by a small section of the workers, and which must in the near future be fought over again. The class war continues, and the working class are bluffed and beaten all along its front, because they can see no other weapons than those of the industrial field. Encouraged and cajoled by labour leaders and capitalist politicians to concentrate their attention on trifling additions to their wages, which they only achieve occasionally; accepting the injunctions of the enemy as to how they shall fight the class war, they fall easy victims to the class whose very development has educated them in the game of smothering essentials by haggling over the trifling and petty details of their system. A system of society based on the class ownership of the means of life and the merchandise nature of labour power is a healthy, vigorous system, from the point of view of the capitalist economist, while such friction goes on—a system scarcely past its prime. That is why a paltry rise in the screw of some little section is referred to as a "practical advance"; an example for the rest of the working class to follow.

Capitalists and their agents will only encourage the workers in action that does not threaten their supremacy—for while they have that they know their profits are secure.

* * *

Correspondents in the "Daily Citizen" have been warning the workers against raising their wages too high (would they possessed the power to do so!), for they inform us, such action only adds to the cost of production and so increases the cost of living. An increase in wages that never rise above the cost of living is the very last thing to influence prices. Instances which could be quoted to show the frequency with which prices have declined with rising wages show only too plainly that there are other factors responsible for the mercury-like fluctuations of the capitalist price list, that operate with astonishing rapidity, and submerge questions of wages as if their temporary fluctuations did not exist.

The capitalist himself stands in superstitious horror before these forces. As Mr. Balfour once said when discoursing on the instability of prices: "There are these great oscillations in trade. We have always said, and said truly, that any variation in the price of living which could, by any conceivable possibility, follow upon the sort of duties contemplated by Tariff Reformers, would be lost, drowned, submerged—would altogether vanish in comparison with the national oscillations to which we are all accustomed and to which we all have to submit."

If the fiscal system of a country is of so little moment that its effects are thus completely submerged by the forces they know of but do not understand or control, what chance is there for the workers, often half starved before they commence their struggle, and handicapped by the treachery of their leaders, to cause even a shud-

der to pass over the capitalist price list?

The introduction of labour-saving machinery or methods that eliminate so much of the labour that was previously necessary in the production of a commodity will, of course, bring about a rapid fall in price.

If gold is produced with a less expenditure of labour power, its value falls in comparison with other commodities, and the latter, as measured by a fixed amount of gold, shrink in quantity in comparison.

Here are two factors which are constantly at work upsetting and rearranging prices.

Agreements and monopolies are responsible for the temporary holding up, or even raising of prices, but such operations receive far more attention than they deserve, largely because of the opposition of small traders. Trusts and combines have never sustained price for long above the cost of production. The most effective, and at the same time the most uncertain and spasmodic of all the forces that play "Aunt Sally" with prices is supply and demand. The workers themselves know this quite well from their experience of their own particular commodity—labour power. For they seldom try to force up their price on a declining market. The demand for the goods which they are engaged in producing is then already attracting capital, the effect of which will be increased production. Supply treads on the heels of demand, and the owners of capital, totally unable to regulate their own enterprise, flood the market till prices fall. That is why prices, instead of rising after a rise in wages, so frequently take the opposite course.

F. F.

WHERE ROCKEFELLER RULES.

O.O.

"POVERTY," by ROBERT HUNTER. London: The Macmillan Co. 2s. net.

This is a cheap reprint of a work that originally appeared in 1904 in America. It is written by a member of that body of reformers known as the Socialist Party of America. The author defines the main object of the volume as an estimate of the extent of poverty in the United States of America, and a description of "some of its evils."

A further object of the book, we are told, is to point out certain remedial actions which society may wisely prosecute.

To one who is familiar with the investigations in this country of Mr. Charles Booth, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, and Dr. H. H. Mann, the method of this work is certainly disappointing. As the author himself admits: "The poor of the rural districts have hardly been mentioned and the working woman and the mother are left almost entirely out of consideration."

Little information, if any, can be gleaned beyond that already to be obtained in the works of Jacob A. Riis and Mrs. Van Vorst, etc.

The estimate given by the author of this book on poverty in America is sufficient to show of how little use the work is to the serious student. "I have not the slightest doubt," he says, "that there are in the United States ten millions in precisely these conditions of poverty, but I am largely guessing at it, and there may be as many as fifteen or twenty millions."

The condition which Mr. Hunter takes for his standard of poverty he defines as the lack of those necessities sufficient to maintain a state of physical efficiency.

The real remedy for the poverty of the workers amidst the luxury of the idlers is not shown, and the preventive measures advocated by our author are worthy of the most zealous supporter of the present system.

Sanitary laws and shorter hours for women and children. Laws to "make industry pay the necessary and legitimate cost of producing and maintaining efficient labourers." Compensation and Insurance Acts and Anti-Immigration laws. In short, all those measures which are in operation in many lands, where they dismally fail to improve the workers' conditions. Our author shrinks from the true position, viz., that as the poverty of the working class is due to robbery, the remedy is to stop the robbers by ousting them, first from political, and then from economic power.

A. K.

AND THE RISE IN PRICES

This may be to some extent because the diff.

Is it not time the workers awoke to the facts of their position? Is it not time they understood that capitalism and its social "reforms" hold out not even the slightest hope for them? So long as the toilers continue to be the slaves of another class deaths from starvation will be recorded.

T. S. W.

All Heartily Welcome, Admission Free

It is at the price of bitter experience that the chief laws concerning the issue of money have been learnt, and history is strewn with the records of disasters due to disregard of these laws. In every solvent currency the legal tender of tokens is restricted, and the issue of inconvertible notes is maintained at par by restricting the face value of the notes in circulation to the amount of gold that would circulate in their place. The most financially sound nations, indeed, have practically abandoned the inconvertible paper, issuing only such notes (beyond the irreducible minimum) as are considered equal in amount to actual gold held in

But the capitalist is not a child, by any means. Exchange, not production, is his work. He is quite willing to magnify his own importance, but not that of his enemy, the worker. His

Can gold, then, retain its fetishism and all pleasant associations for all time? Obviously not. Apart from its use as a medium of exchange its utility is less than that of many other metals. A certain utility is guaranteed to it by its non-corroding property, but its worship as the greatest of gods will surely end. Nay, more. Is not probable that future society co-operatively and sensibly supplying its own wants by the consciously directed organisation of its efforts, will more truly and profoundly appraise the alien characteristic of to-day? It will note that the chief present use of gold is to lubricate the wasteful working of anarchic private production. It will see that to-day the position and production of gold stimulates greed and selfishness, robbery and cruelty; augments the power of the tyrant, undermines virtue and integrity, enslaves and corrupts all. And noting these things and all that they imply, will not humanity of the future recoil with horror, and describe the capitalist epoch, fitfully, (but with what a path of altered meaning!) as the "Golden Age"?

F. C. W.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

PATRIOTISM OR PLUNDER?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "EMPIRE DAY."

At the time of writing these lines preparations are being made to observe in a fitting manner, what has now come to be regarded as a fixed institution, viz., Empire Day. Each successive year sees an endeavour made to stimulate and extend the sentiment of "patriotism." School children are paraded round the village, waving flags and singing patriotic airs under the direction of an enthusiastic teacher. Afterwards they are marshalled in front of the school, where they are treated to a speech on their "Responsibility, Duty, and Self-sacrifice." After giving vent to their feelings in three cheers for "The Empire" and singing "God Save the King," they are marched into the school to the strains of "Soldiers of the Queen," and their receptive minds are stuffed with stories of the valour of Nelson, Drake, and other butchers.

The churches are also to the front on this occasion. On the Sunday following May 24th special sermons are preached emphasising the importance of allowing themselves to be chloroformed for the national good. Advantage is taken by scaremongers and jingo politicians to point out the necessity for compulsory military service, and the need for supporting rifle clubs, and such institutions as the Boy Scouts, the Territorials, the National Service League, etc. The "Big Navy" party take pains not to let the occasion pass without trotting out once more the old cry of "adequate defence" so dear to the heart of Hyndman & Co.

It is safe to say that not one person in a thousand of those who are compelled to participate in these displays realises the significance underlying this noisy "appeal to patriotism." They are requested to believe that it is for the "honour and integrity of our glorious empire." OUR Empire! Let us see how much of the Empire is ours.

In the first place every schoolboy knows that before one country can assume control over another it must have recourse to force or threats, the people of the country which is to be brought under control must be subjugated and a footing established.

Various reasons are put forward from time to time to show the necessity for such steps being taken, but the ultimate analysis shows that in every case the fundamental and determining factor is economic advantage, or, to put it another way, plunder.

As almost every nation is engaged in the race for economic advantages, it resolves itself into a sort of running fight, in which the weaker succumbs to the strongest. England herself has annexed nearly a third of the earth and is still unsatisfied. Her "greatness" lies, not in that she stands for "Justice, good government, and liberty," as Lord Rosebery would say, but in the fact that, up to now, she has been the biggest plunderer.

Her "interests," and the machinery necessary for maintaining the same, are not operated for the benefit of her people, as is claimed, but only for the benefit of a small section of her people—the capitalists. Hence the need for armies, navies, and other murderous institutions, to guarantee the security of that class, and incidentally to capture more plunder whenever the opportunity presents itself.

It cannot be said that we have done badly, for in whichever direction we turn we are sure to let on a piece of "our" Empire.

It is an old saying that trade follows the flag, but what follows trade? Ask the people of the different nations that comprise "our Empire." You will find the same conditions obtaining there as here—that is, poverty, misery, degradation, and all the other evils which follow in the wake of capitalism. Who among us has not felt his blood surge when reading of "our" conquests in various parts of the world? Take, for instance, the occupation of India—that vast land of untold wealth (and poverty) which the native is debarred from developing only in the interests of the "Great White Raj," otherwise the capitalist class. Are we to suppose that India was acquired solely for the purpose of doing good to the "poor benighted heathen"? At least this is the impression they gave us at school. Was it in their interests the Govern-

ment paid four million pounds to the Khedive of Egypt for his shares in the Suez Canal in order to obtain complete control of the highway to India? Not much!

Ever since the occupancy of India advantage has been taken of the diversity of the races to set race against race, creed against creed, caste against caste in order to preserve the security of the invaders. It was this circumstance which was in great part responsible for the historic Mutiny, the suppression of which involved such fiendishly horrible cruelty as to hardly bear relation.

What applies to India applies also to every other land where the British have asserted themselves.

Since New Zealand was "purchased" from the chiefs the Maoris have become practically extinct through the introduction of war, liquor, and other vices which follow close upon the heels of "civilisation."

The same country is at the present time in a state of serbian anxiety, the colonists being faced with the same problems of capitalism as confound the people here.

It is the same with Australia, where wild endeavour is being made to exclude the coloured races and to establish a "White Australia"—which policy has the support of the imperialistic "Labour" Party at present in power. This proposition stands some chance of success, since it has been discovered that white labour is more productive than coloured, hence the profits resulting from the exploitation of the former are greater.

The acquisition of Hongkong was due to the resistance of the Chinese to the introduction of opium by the British, who forced them at the cannon's mouth to accept it. Only recently a cargo worth some six millions was dumped at Shanghai. The Chinese refused it, so the British gunboat "Flora" was sent to overawe them into submission.

British interests in China, as elsewhere, are wholly commercial, though very often the Christianising of the natives is put forward as an excuse for meddling.

The conversion of China into a republic has somewhat upset Britain's calculations, for now it may mean that the United States and Germany will stand a better chance of a look in—to English capitalists' detriment. Their commercial interests are threatened, and the opening of the Panama Canal will not add to their peace of mind.

The alacrity with which the Churches responded to the Chinese politicians' appeal for prayers on behalf of the new republic only recently, gave the game away entirely. Their predatory instincts are once more aroused, and their strong point is to get a foothold in China ahead of the other European nations, especially as that country may yet become a formidable competitor in the Eastern markets.

I point out these things to show that it is solely the material interests of the ruling class that produce wars and other international troubles—that all the piffle about the "glory of our world Empire," and our "mission of justice and mercy" is only so much bunkum, intended to deceive the mass of the people who comprise "our" Empire—that it is in reality only part of the unscrupulous tactics adopted by those thievish swindlers of every nationality who are running the "British" Empire.

Who does not remember the envious eyes cast upon the Transvaal when it was announced that gold had been discovered by the Dutch farmers? Almost immediately the "British" gentlemen who run the Empire for "us" tried to persuade the Boers to part with their find. Failing in this they had recourse to other persuasive methods, which cost a little matter of 250 million pounds and the lives of many thousands of members of the working class. When, after having conquered (!) the republic it was declared that the country would be opened up to the British worker it was found to be a delusion, for, instead, the "whites" found themselves displaced by the Kaffir, the Chinese, and the Indian. And now we find the "British" patriots who own South Africa, and in whose interest war was made, going around with bulging waistcoats and equally bulging pocket-books, preaching loyalty to the Empire.

This, then, is the significance underlying the institution known as "Empire Day." It can

be summed up in one word—plunder.

Knowing that the workers are not yet wise enough to see through their game, the capitalists are prepared to go to any length to prevent their enlightenment.

Thus it is we have members of the master class financing such things as rifle corps, Boy Scouts, and other potential warriors. The Boy Scouts in particular demand special mention as being looked upon as a great national asset, whose "usefulness," both at home and abroad, will some day be apparent.

King Edward VII shortly before his death sent a message to a big review of scouts in which he said: "Tell the boys that the King takes great interest in them; and tell them also that if he calls upon them later in life to take up the defence of their country, the patriotic responsibility and discipline they are now acquiring as boys, will enable them to do their duty as men, should any danger threaten the Empire." Plain, isn't it?

We find that by fostering a feeling of animosity against the people of other nations, our rulers succeed in keeping the workers divided, and increased security in their tenure of existence is secured. It is significant to note how in this they receive the blessing of the Church. To the student of history this is not surprising, for the Church throughout history has stood for militarism and slavery.

Patriotism, then, means simply the acquisition of power for the maintenance and conquest of markets in the interests of the ruling class. Capital being international, and not troubled by any sort of sentiment, it follows that it will make its way wherever its operations are likely to be successful. Consequently its owners are patriotic or anti-patriotic according as their interests are affected.

Only a few weeks ago an order for the construction of four British steamers, amounting to half a million sterling was placed in France. The reason given for sending the order abroad was that the cost would be less than if the vessels were built in this country. Material interests first—patriotism nowhere!

An examination of the economic status of that small portion of the British Empire known as the British Isles, reveals the dismal fact that thirteen millions of its population are on the very verge of destitution. It also reveals the fact that the thirty-eight millions who represent the people who are asked to display their patriotic feelings on the 24th of May, who build the palaces, the motor cars, and the yachts their Empire-loving masters gad about in; who provide them with bread, clothes, and boots—who, in fact, produce everything—possess nothing!

Where does the patriotism come in? What have they to be patriotic about?

We also find the income of the rich has increased by millions, whilst a million married women are compelled out of sheer necessity to work in the factories and shops.

No wonder that paupers have increased by 70,000 since 1900, and lunatics by 20,000, despite the "benefits" of the Old Age Pensions Act and the like!

Was it a feeling of patriotism that prompted 290,000 workers with their families to depart from these shores last year? They tell us there is no room for them in this country, yet some millions of acres are set apart for deer shooting alone! Why is this?

It is simply because a handful of privileged pirates are allowed to own all the wealth which we produce. This is the "Secret of England's Greatness"! It is for this we are asked to cultivate a feeling of "patriotic responsibility," and later on to "take up the defence of"!

What do you think about it? Do you think it is for us this "great and glorious" Empire being run? Do you think it is on our account that the squabbles in Parliament take place? Do you honestly believe that any party represented in Parliament to-day can legislate in our favour whilst all the time they are sucking our very life's blood and exploiting us for all they are worth? Do not be led astray.

If an end is to be put to this rotten system it must be by the efforts of the workers themselves. This effort can only be exerted by a revolutionary organisation, conscious of its class mission. This organisation is already in existence in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. It is the only Socialist party in this country, and

only by enrolling yourselves in this party can the abolition of the present system of robbery and corruption be made certain.

It was the end of this that the terrified Lord Rosebery foresaw when he wailed: "Socialism means the end of Empire" a few years ago. And Lord Rosebery was right for once!

TOM SALA.

THE EFFECT OF REFORM.

The revolutionary has shown that the present system of society is utterly incapable of fulfilling the proper function of a social system, i.e., the satisfying of the needs of the community. In effect that has been admitted by reformers of every school. The very need for reform shows the existence of evil, and no agitation would or could find any support were all well with the community.

The reformer does not understand that the social evils cannot be removed while the cause—private ownership in the means of living—is permitted to remain. The cause of the evils cannot be touched by the measures they advocate, however earnest and sincere the advocates may be; and no reform has yet been propounded that can be shown to effectively deal with the "problems" of poverty and unemployment.

The basic laws of capitalist society, being in harmony with private ownership of the tools of production, operate against such interference, and to push up the price of labour-power would simply, on the one hand lead to greater intensification of labour, and on the hand to the restriction of production, and, by throwing a number out of employment, bring down wages to or below the previous level. Competition regulates prices, and the price of labour-power is subject to the same influences as any other commodity that the labourer produces.

The competition between the workers for jobs—the fight of each to sell his labour power—must of necessity keep down wages to the lowest possible point. Not that that point can be fixed at will by the capitalist—or the worker. It fluctuates, but only above or below a given level, that level being determined by the cost of production of labour-power under the conditions, climatic or otherwise, of the time and place of production. That standard of subsistence is by no means stationary: it will rise and fall at the dictates of the system. The higher the intensification of labour, the greater the speed at which the labourer is called upon to produce, the higher will be the cost of his subsistence.

That standard, however, is not altered by the wishes of the people, either workers or owners. Wages can, and do, rise higher than the level of subsistence, just as they can, and do, fall below the level of physical efficiency. It can be readily understood that the efficiency of labour-power cannot be maintained for any length of time unless the wages given are sufficient to sustain the labourer, and with the modern intensification of labour the tendency is to increase the efficiency of the worker, not to reduce it.

Individual employers within the system may wring extra surplus for a time by so-called sweating, and it is to guard against this "unfair competition" that Trades Boards are established and Minimum Wage Bills agitated for. The tendency is to increase the rate of wages and to introduce speedier methods of production and a greater intensity of exploitation.

This, however, but increases unemployment, which is advantageous to the buyers of labour-power, since it is only by the existence of a reserve army of labour that they can keep wages down to the level of efficiency demanded. No other means can compel the workman to work faster and ever faster as the machines are speeded up.

It is the existence of the unemployed at the factory gate that compels the workers to toil at lowest wages and under conditions they would not otherwise submit to. It is the fear of being supplanted that forces them to tolerate the insults and degrading treatment of bullying foremen for a mere living.

The increasing speed and consequent exhaustion compel the introduction of the shorter working-day. Many of the employees object to

its introduction, and affirm that their wages are lower as a consequence; but the capitalists profit by it, because in the reduced time as much or more wealth is produced, and with the two-shift, or even a three-shift system, greater profits are obtained.

The forward march of the capitalist system is toward cheap production, and no human action can stay it. Economy of production can only be obtained at the expense of the workers, as it is only by cutting the wages bill that the capitalist can economise. The present system, based as it is upon the private ownership of the tools of production is the system of those private owners, and the better and more smoothly it runs the better it is for them.

How can reform increase the toilers' share of the product? The general level of wages is determined by the cost of the production of labour-power. Can any reform alter the cost of production? And if it could would that benefit the producer? In the United States wages rule higher than in England, and the cost of subsistence is higher also. But is the worker of U.S.A. the better off for that? He receives more money and pays more for food, clothing, and shelter, and in the end finds himself with just sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter for himself and a family—sufficient, in short, to keep himself in a fit condition to continue production for the master class. Here, then, the reformer can do nothing.

We saw, however, that wages could rise and fall. Can reforms, then, force wages above the general level or prevent them falling below it? Let us see.

If the supply of any article approximates to the demand it will exchange on the market at its value. To increase its price one must stop or check the supply of similar goods or increase the demand for them. Now the worker has his commodity, labour-power, to sell upon the open market, and the supply of labour-power is greater than the demand for it.

This is undoubtedly so, anti-Socialists notwithstanding. Flowery orators may tell us of the enormous increase in wealth production necessitating an increase in the number of employed. After-dinner speeches may contain references to great employers of labour searching the country for "hands." But the average worker knows that no sooner does he leave his job than another comes forward to take it, and the reports of the Labour Exchanges give the lie to the assertion that there is a real scarcity of labour.

The question of the moment is, then, can the supply of labour-power be restricted?

The Trade Union movement has attempted to bring about such a restriction and has signally failed to do so. It has attempted to keep the unemployed off the market by raising a fund for the purpose of providing them with food, clothing, and shelter. But the army of out-of-works has grown too great for them to maintain, and the capitalists have simply used the union funds to maintain the surplus workers in a certain state of efficiency. To-day even that is insufficient, and the State has taken over the matter by subsidising the unions and other organisations for the purpose of keeping a supply of labour-power ready for any demand of capitalist production. The Trade Unions have never been able to prevent the unemployed from acting as a drag upon wages, and of recent years, in this connection, it has simply provided a sum from the pockets of the workers to prevent the revolt of the hungry, and save the extra charge that would otherwise have fallen upon the capitalist in the form of rates.

Consider for a moment what would happen were the ideal of the reformer realised. No unemployed, hungry slaves clamouring for a job at almost any figure would mean that the employed workers would refuse to accept the miserable pittance they now receive and would force the employers to raise wages until production for profit was impossible. Capitalism would then collapse, and even though the workers were unable to take over the control of affairs the masters would no longer be able to manage production; for willing wage slaves are essential to the capitalist system. But the ideal is not practicable. It presupposes the impossible and is absurd.

Does this mean that the revolutionary must

oppose reform? The Socialist is necessarily opposed to the advocacy of reform as it is inadequate for his purpose. Reforms, in the main, do not even palliate, and those that do are used by the capitalist class in their own interest, and are introduced because the stage to which capitalism has advanced demands the change.

The battle (often a sham one) over any particular measure is at the most but a quarrel between two sections of the master class whose interests will be bound up in the abolition or the continuation of some antiquated method for the abandonment of which the agitation is raised. That various changes are necessary, and that some of them are held back by vested interests we recognise; but if benefits are to be obtained from capitalism, a very different attitude to that of the present-day reformer must be taken, and our best advantage will be gained by constant opposition to the masters and a growing demand for revolution.

That some reform agitation may hasten the changes rendered necessary by the rapid development of the system and held back by the parsimony and mulish obstinacy of those in power is all that can be said for the movement for reform within capitalism. But nothing could be obtained by such a movement that could not be as easily achieved by the Socialist Party. If such work, however, is to stand in the way of the presentation of the Socialist case, and is injurious in the slightest degree to the growth of the Socialist idea, then such a movement must be opposed, though the realization of its object may be shown to be inevitable and desirous.

While recognising the ruthless onward march of capitalist development it must not be forgotten that society is composed of human beings, and that the fear instilled into the minds of the masters will have some effect in lessening the oppression and hastening the coming revolution. The master class fear no reform, but the fear they have for revolution can only be compared to the hatred and contempt that they feel for their willing wage-slaves. We cannot play upon their pity or reach their hearts by tales of woe and misery, and such is the stock-in-trade of the reformer.

He who would hoist the revolutionary banner should know the strength of economic laws and the comparative weakness of the human will, and should underrate neither. Above all, he must set himself the task of fighting the representatives of capitalism, for not until the contempt they feel for the workers is displaced by the fear of the growing revolutionary army will the capitalists even consider their wage-slaves to be aught but parts of a profit-earning machine.

TWEL.

T. WATSON, Wood Green.—Certainly there is no potential capitalist class. Any individual, however, who is on the high road to becoming a capitalist is a potential capitalist in one sense of the word. If you use the word potential in the sense of latent or "existing in possibility, not in act," how would a dead 'un fill the bill, or a capitalist baby "just born or just due"? Happy to try again if this does not suit.

R.T. (Petone, New Zealand).—Your question shall be answered in the next issue. We are pressed for space this month.

"SOCIALISM DETAILS TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free

Ld

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	1st	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates	11.30 C. Baggett	J. G. Stone	S. Blake	A. Barker	A. Gatter
Prince's Head	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	C. Elliott	A. Bays	J. E. Roe	A. Kohn
Clapham Common	3.30 J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Bays	F. J. Rourke	A. Kohn
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. Bays	A. W. Pearson	J. Myles	A. Anderson	C. Elliott
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	A. Bays	J. G. Stone	A. Hoskyns	J. Fitzgerald
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Timms	A. Jacobs	C. Parker	B. Young
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 J. G. Stone	A. Kohn	A. Anderson	J. Le Carte	A. Bays
Ilford (Station)	7.30 J. Brown	A. Leslie	F. J. Rourke	H. King	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 C. Parker	J. Brown	C. Gatter	T. W. Allen	J. Brown
Parliament Hill	7.30 J. Myles	C. Baggett	H. King	A. L. Cox	A. Anderson
Peckham Triangle	11.30 S. Blake	J. Roe	A. Timms	W. Lewington	A. Pearson
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 A. Barker	A. Hoskyns	S. Blake	C. Baggett	J. Roe
Walsingham, Prince of Wales	11.30 T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	C. Elliott	A. Gatter	S. Blake
Walsingham, Prince of Wales	12.0 H. King	A. Anderson	A. Kohn	C. Elliott	J. G. Stone
Walsingham, Prince of Wales	11.30 C. Elliott	T. W. Allen	B. Young	J. Roe	C. Baggett
Walsingham, Prince of Wales	7.30 C. Gatter	J. Myles	A. Barker	A. Bays	A. Timms
Tottenham, West Green Cor.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	W. Lewington	F. W. Stearn	A. Kohn	J. Myles
Waltham Green Church	7.30 A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson
Waltham Green Church	7.30 J. Roe	C. Gatter	C. Elliott	F. J. Rourke	A. Barker
Waltham Green Church	7.30 A. Hoskyns	H. King	A. Kohn	B. Young	F. J. Rourke
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 B. Young	A. Timms	W. Lewington	S. Blake	F. Stearn
Watford Market Place	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Cox	A. Hoskyns	A. Jacobs	J. Ward
	7.30 C. Elliott	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	A. W. Pearson	A. Hoskyns

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cor. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N.

Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30.

Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m.

Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

- BATTERSEA.**—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
- BEDFORD.**—All communications to R. T. Freeman 83 Britannia-rd.
- CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
- EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
- EDMONTON.**—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
- FULHAM.**—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Waltham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.
- GRAVESEND.**—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.
- ILFORD.**—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sats. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.
- ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.
- MANCHESTER.**—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.
- MARYLEBONE.**—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.
- NOTTINGHAM.**—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Thurs. at 8, at 24 Middle Furlong-rd.
- PADDINGTON.**—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. at 8 p.m. at 81, Harrow Road, W. (side door).
- PECKHAM.**—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
- SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
- STOKE NEWINGTON.**—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mors 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
- TOOTING.**—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-rd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).
- TOTTENHAM.**—G. P. Plummer, Sec., 45 Gloucester Rd. Branch meets Mors. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
- WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets Mondays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.
- WATFORD.**—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**PROPAGANDA MEETINGS**

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No. 107. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, JULY 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

HOW WE ARE TO BE SAVED BY SYNDICALISM.

"SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH," by Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget. Cloth 3s. 6d., paper 2s. 6d., net. Oxford: The New International Publishing Co., Park End St.

In more senses than one Syndicalism is "in the air." "Philosophers" like Sorel have written its metaphysics; "intellectuals" like Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have discussed it; penny-a-liners like Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden have described it.

But none of these can be said to be active participants in the movement; hence the need for a description, or explanation, or exposition, from some one inside its ranks. This book should fill the want.

The authors are well known officials of trade unions or syndicates, extensively advertised as leaders of Syndicalism, and have taken part in various French strikes.

A foreword of whole-hearted adulation is written by Mr. Tom Mann, some illustrations are provided by W. Dyson, a preface of partial praise is contributed by Prince Kropotkin. And it is published at Oxford. Here, then, is a combination that should provide us with a full and connected description of the vague and varying notions grouped under the term Syndicalism.

The book is cast in the form of a retrospect, being, supposedly, a description of the Revolution written some time after the event.

The reader may imagine that the revolution predicted by the syndicalists will take place by the whole of the workers joining one union and then demanding the surrender of the capitalist class; or that it will be brought about by a few determined individuals indulging in desperate acts of violence and so destroying the power and position of the master class.

But you will have been mistaken, for the Revolution is going to be brought about without any special premeditation or arrangement, or even organisation for the purpose. This may seem somewhat startling, but our authors explain it with remarkable ease and simplicity.

The Revolution begins with a strike of building operatives over hours and wages. This looks somewhat prosaic and even commonplace. Ah! that is because you have not yet realised what marvellous changes will take place when the "revolutionary spirit" gets abroad.

At first the men on strike have no intention or idea of abolishing capitalism. A riot occurred in which some workers were shot. Strikes were being called

Very Simple. in various parts of the country when this happened, and it "precipitated a revolutionary situation." (Page 9.)

The workers began to visit the scene of the murder, and to hold meetings; the trade unions discussed the situation, and the anti-militarists debated their course of action. Their object was

to protest, by a suspension of work, against the Government's action in shooting the workers, and to obtain some redress. The strike spread. The gasworkers came out; the electricians left the plants; the railway workers, many of whom were willing to do so, could not work because the machinery had been damaged beyond temporary repair; the bakers not only struck, but spoiled the ovens so as to prevent blacklegs working them.

With bewildering rapidity section after section were won over to the side of the "revolutionists," or were persuaded not to help the enemy. Being in the minority, the "revolutionists" were bound to consider the keeping of the majority away from the masters' side, and they were successful. In the country the peasants were won over by "a peasant syndicalism of a rather special type" (p. 141) and expropriated the landowners and took possession of the soil.

Some of the capitalist class fled the country, some were killed in the riots that occurred, and some joined the workers. Those that were left were ordered to emigrate when the workers won, but "no violence was used against them."

The reader may ask: "If all these workers were out on strike and so many means of production rendered useless, how did the working class live during this period?"

Pleasures of the Imagination. It is here the genius of the Syndicalists was shown. First the great co-operative stores shared out their provisions; then the stocks in the merchants' warehouses were distributed; lastly the workers returned to work at those plants where the employers agreed that the food produced should first be given to the strikers, and the surplus could be sold by the masters to the rich at an enhanced price. For the goods supplied to the workers they received notes on the Labour Exchange.

"What," you will demand, "were the Government doing?" Why, the Government were almost paralysed by the onward rush of the working class.

"But surely the army existed?" you ask. Certainly. No one recognises the importance of the Army more than the Syndicalists. "They knew that a revolution had never been successful with the Army against it" (p. 69). They redoubled their anti-militarist propaganda. The Government not only received numerous demands for troops to protect works and property, but also endeavoured to run many of the more important services. These took a large number of men, and even then were not a great success. In the case of the supply of electricity they were so clumsy at the work that they broke several of machines and had to close down the plant.

So many soldiers were used for this purpose

that the large centralised stores of food were left almost unprotected, as were also the huge arsenals, like Vincennes! True, as our author says, "it was not with cannon that the working class has opened fire on the wealthy classes. It is by act at once formidable and simple—by folding their arms." (Page 52.) And what could be easier than this? But it

Catching Weasels Asleep. was not all. Often anti-militarists disarmed sentries, and then all the soldiers at a post. The barracks at Chateau-d'Eau were set on fire, after the water had been cut off, and the arsenal at Vincennes was taken and the arms distributed among the strikers.

When the Government tried to keep up communications (which had been cut off by the striking of the railwaymen and telegraph and telephone operatives) by means of motors driven by soldiers, warnings to drive slowly were erected at certain points, delaying progression, and often the motors, in charge of armed soldiers, were stopped by unarmed strikers, and confiscated.

Historical precedents are found for many of the actions in the French Revolution of 1793, though one incident has to look further back in history for its analogy. The strikers had erected a workshop "situated on a height and hidden from observation" (p. 46) which was used as a wireless station telegraph for the purpose of disturbing and confusing the wireless messages of the Government. The reader will remember the well-known biblical precedent for this.

And when the battle was won—what then? Better than ever. Recognising the terrible evils of Parliamentarism, politics and centralisation, the Syndicalists wipe these things out of existence.

"But how are disputes and differences as to matters of administration settled," it may be asked. Quite simply. The matter is discussed, and after various debates agreement is reached by the various sections agreeing.

Production and distribution are carried on by autonomous groups without centralisation. Even the railways and Post Office are run by autonomous groups. There is a "Trade Union Congress," with delegates from all trades and professions, in which "all the sub-divisions, all the classifications which Parliamentarism had engendered, belonged to another age."

The Capitalists But here were workers, sitting there for the moment, and having to decide on points previously discussed by the comrades who had sent them there." (Page 129. The italics are mine.)

Kindly Oblige. "As soon as the Congress was over the Confederal Committee, which consisted of delegates from the Trade Federations and the Labour Ex-

changes, began its work. This work was not direction, but condensation and analysis: it drew up statistics as to the indispensable minimum of production and consumption, and it served as a bond of union between all the groups. It was like the centre of a vast telephonic network to which there arrived, and from which there came, the information which secured the regulation of the social working, the maintaining everywhere of an equilibrium, "in order that there should not be excess at one point whilst there was scarcity at another." (Page 137.)

Very much, this, like strong centralisation with a bureaucracy at the top, you may fancy. That would only show you have not imbibed the "revolutionary spirit," else you would see at once that it is "Federalism."

Such foreign supplies as were needed were obtained from the capitalist countries abroad by paying a higher price, and greed for gain outwitted foreign Governments.

Still these Governments, whose working class had not yet accepted Syndicalist and anti-militarist ideas in sufficient numbers to revolt, were not going to stand by quietly. Moreover, the capitalist refugees were urging them to crush the revolutionaries.

What could the latter do? They called a general Congress of all the Unions, and delegates were chosen from all branches of human activities. These delegates were all "capable of discussing and deciding on questions affecting their general interests." (Page 197. *Italics mine.*) No stupid referendums or voting here by the people, but decision by the delegates.

Disdaining a regular army, special committees of men with technical skill were set up. "The greatest freedom of choice was 'left to them, and the Congress approved the means to which they intended to have recourse, the facts of which they explained.'" (Page 197.)

One of the committees utilized the Hertzian waves, which, properly directed, would explode arsenals on land and magazines on ships, from a distance. Another committee concerned itself with preparing to inoculate the invading armies with plague, cholera, typhus, etc., while they guarded themselves from infection with "preventive and curative serums."

Such powerful measures simply demolished the enemy like smoke before a gale, and the war ended in a few days.

Of course, the foreign governments knew of these means and how to use them, but refused to adopt them because "they meant to keep, even on the field of battle, the outward show of civilisation"—hence their defeat. What would have happened had they decided to use these means, with their much vaster resources, it were idle to speculate, seeing that they missed their opportunity.

Peace reigned now throughout the world, as the working class of other nations, profiting by such a splendid example, also established co-operative commonwealths in the various lands.

Here, then, is the easy, quick, and effective road to Freedom. No stupid organisation, no absurd rules or regulations, no steady propaganda to help bring about the mental revolution (which even Kropotkin, in his preface, warns the authors is so necessary), no need to estimate what your enemies will do, or how far they will go in resisting the Social Revolution—a resistance that Kropotkin says the authors have considerably underestimated.

All that is required is some spasmodic anti-militarist propaganda accompanied by some subtle education in sabotage, some gathering of a determined minority in trade unions; then the working class, at present so firmly wedded to capitalist notions, so ready to follow the lead of the masters' agents, who think they must vote for some candidate or they will be "wasting their votes," and who imagine Tweedledum is slightly better than Tweedledee, will change their leaders, and, throwing over politics, will follow those who will arrange production without organisation, carry on war without army or navy, control the country without politics or votes, because assisted by the "plasticity of the multitude" (p. 227) and the "revolutionary spirit, they will always know, *a priori*, the right thing to do at any moment.

J. FITZGERALD.

SOCIALISM TO-DAY.

AMONG the subjects that attract the wavering attention of the people to-day, Socialism holds a steady and prominent place. Scarcely a newspaper appears without a longer or shorter reference to the "menace of Socialism." The ignorant and superstitious capitalist sees in every strike and industrial dispute, fresh evidence of general working class discontent, and like the dwellers at the base of some volcanic mountain, they often speculate on the time that will elapse before the rumblings will materialise into a general eruption.

For many years after the Paris Commune revolution seemed imminent to the French capitalists. A Government that had been actually deposed by the working class could be thrown down again, and the knowledge of this compelled the legislative assembly to devote the greater portion of its time to repressive measures and secret actions against the revolutionaries. They dreaded a renewal of hostilities, and their fear became apparent from their panicky expedients in the endeavour to avoid a repetition of their previous humiliation.

Every capitalist Government is compelled to take into consideration the revolutionary forces in its particular area. They know little or nothing as to the extent of such forces. They only know that revolution is logical, that there is no reason why the working class should not act logically, except their want of knowledge. The Socialist Party, concerned only with spreading that knowledge, can well afford to laugh at their feeble efforts to shirk the real issue and spread confusion. Because sooner or later, out of the chaos of lies and misrepresentation, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, will emerge triumphant.

Confusion is undoubtedly the strongest weapon in the capitalist armoury. The fraudulent Labour Party, without a single measure on their programme that can benefit or interest the working class, leads itself to Tory and Liberal politicians as a Socialist chopping block. Sentimental curates and sleek, over-fed bishops, gather around them little cliques of working men, impress upon them that brotherhood only is Socialism, and, living on the Cross, they exhort allegiance to the Cross, and denounce the class war at the same time as they point to the hatred that capitalism and unrestrained competition breeds.

The sanctimonious cocoa Press lectures the workers on efficiency, and warns them of the "tempestuous dangers of gross materialism." For Liberalism, they say, is a faith, and its exponents are slowly, but surely, grappling with the evils that afflict society. "The civilising and humanising influence of men like Lloyd George and Asquith," we are told, is the true Socialism.

Socialism has, in fact, become so popular that Anti-Vivisectionists have been known to claim from the platform that they are the real Socialists!

It is almost refreshing to turn from such a mixture of flattery and humbug to the noisy but empty declamations of the Tory party and the Anti-Socialist Union. Their efforts to spread confusion, just as purile and equally obvious, are only refreshing because they are avowedly hostile. Every party in turn, fully cognisant of its impotence before the logic of Socialism, tremulously strikes the note of fear.

Lord Abinger, in a circular issued to subscribers of the Anti-Socialist Union, says:—

"The sixteen million workers of this country are being lied to and deliberately misled by revolutionary leaders, who are enrolling thousands of recruits for the army which is to dislocate the commerce of this country, and leave it a prey to any enemy who may covet our wealth and trade.

"There is no industry in this country in which these rebels have not sown the seeds of hatred and discontent; there is hardly a town where, every day, specious lies, perverted facts, and false figures are not presented to the people by Socialist and Syndicalist orators. The time is short, the danger urgent. I ask you to read the enclosed report and in this time of grave peril, to send us a generous contribution."

In the "Fortnightly Review" for May, the Rev. Vrnwy Morgan, D.D., writing on "The Character and Genius of Mr. Lloyd George," says: "He has stemmed the tide of Socialism by the adoption of a philosophy of politics lying midway between Socialism and individualism."

The above gentleman, however, was forestalled by the Marconi Messiahs himself, for he already had this estimate of himself during his bogus campaign, when he said:—

"If the party system were destroyed the class line must become the line of demarcation, and we should be reduced to the evil position in which foreign countries with democratic Governments found themselves, and from which they were struggling to rise. Is it not a real advantage to the country that there should be two great parties, each capable in turn of providing responsible administrations for the service of the Crown? How much better our system of government has worked upon this balance than in those countries where there is a permanent governing class, with all those interests of wealth and privilege massed around them, keeping the rest of their fellow-countrymen in sullen subjection by force of arms. That is the position in more than one European country to-day—a powerful imperialist and military combination holding all the power of confronting a vast Socialist party utterly estranged from the fundamental institution of the State."

Even the Carnegie peace advocates endeavour to strike terror by the cry of "revolution." Another writer in the "Fortnightly Review," Sir Max Waechter, D.L.F.P., flattering Lord Rosebery by imitating him, says:—

"No one can foresee the end of it all, but it is to be feared that a crisis is at hand. Unless this mad increase of armaments is checked in time the military and naval competition among the powers must end in the impoverishment and bankruptcy of all Europe, or in the greatest war the world has ever seen, or in a great revolution, for the masses may at last rise in despair in order to shake off their crushing burdens."

At least the capitalist newspapers with enormous circulations, have quite recently been so much impressed by the progress of Socialist propaganda that they have deemed it necessary to devote a large portion of their space to calumny and misrepresentation. We may question their wisdom in attempting to rise to the occasion; it is difficult to ignore an enemy who is making steady progress, but Socialism thrives equally well, whether opposed or disregarded by the ruling class.

The Anti-Socialist Union at their out door meetings excite far more antagonism than sympathy, while the Socialist Party's experience is that those who attend their meetings exhibit an intelligent desire to discuss and understand the economic and social problems we place before them.

To the ignorant capitalist every manifestation of discontent on the part of the workers is Socialism—the inflowing tide that shall ultimately overwhelm and submerge them. To the Socialist such manifestations are but the interaction, the play of forces inherent in the system, which is safe while they function.

The friction between capitalist and worker is the old conflict of interests between buyer and seller—which conflict cannot end while both sides accept the status imposed on them by the system. On the part of the capitalist there can be no desire to relinquish his position as buyer of labour power, because if he does not buy he does not exploit. The worker, on the other hand, even if he knows surplus value to be the product of labour, is forced to sell in order to live.

The alternative to a system wherein labour-power is merchandise to a huckstering merchant class, wherein the working class is exploited like arable land is a system in which the people will own the wealth they produce. This they can only do when they own the means whereby that wealth is produced.

Having already co-operative production, co-operative ownership and democratic control has to supplant private or class ownership and control. When that has been effected a revolution will have taken place and society will have changed its form. The fundamental principles

that form the basis of capitalist society, and mark it off as a system distinct from those that have preceded it, will have disappeared. As to-day there are no feudal barons who war with each other and levy tribute and labour from helpless serfs bound to the soil, so under Socialism the relation between capitalist and wage slave will have disappeared, because no individual or class can own wealth and use it to buy labour power for the purpose of exploitation.

To the working class, whose one desire must be to retain the fruits of their labour, such a revolution is eminently desirable. Its realisation is therefore only a question of knowledge. Recognition of the class struggle is the consciousness of the social organism of the need for a readjustment of social relationships. The organism that does not respond to the dictum is doomed to atrophy and extinction.

For races live and grow just as their individual members do. In certain parts of the Western Hemisphere there is evidence of systems of intensive cultivation of the soil that proves, beyond doubt, that they have in some bye gone age, been peopled far more densely than our Western civilisation; but these races have long since disappeared. Every race and every species tends to increase its numbers until the rate of mortality overtops the rate of fertility. In other words, races come into existence, rise to maturity, and then decay, exactly as their individual members do. The race, no less than the individual, has to adapt itself to its surroundings, or decay takes place more rapidly.

To day the human race is living out of conformity with its environment. The operation of social forces has separated society into two classes, with different modes of living and a different outlook on the world. The dominant class has thrown off all pretence of function and has become solely parasitic, a cancerous growth in the body of the social organism. Its presence is detrimental to the race. The only useful class is robbed of the results of its labour; the wealth goes to feed the cancer, the useless class. Increasing powers of production, instead of giving the workers leisure and opportunities for self-development, only increase their sufferings and intensify their labour. The result of longer hours, of technical education and training, is only so much more food for society's malignant growth, so much more wealth for the capitalist class, from which to hire the forces that overawe the workers and keep them in subjection.

The very existence of such forces, when capital has become international, reveals their purpose to the workers, whose every effort on the industrial field is thwarted by them. Antagonism that only shows itself on the industrial field sectionally and spasmodically, stands out as class antagonism when the armed forces are used against all sections of the workers in turn. The political machine then becomes a challenge to the workers; it stands out as the symbol of capitalism, the nucleus of the capitalist State. Its control means power.

The working class have nearly exhausted the long chapter of blunders that characterised their history during the nineteenth century—machine smashing, Chartism, Liberal-Labour representation, etc. They must either begin over again or make a serious study of their real position and find that control of the political machine is within their reach and is the first step that must be taken towards freedom.

The growing antagonism of interests between the workers and the capitalist class, and the greater frequency with which the armed forces are used against them, emphasise the need for the capture of the political machine. Just when conditions are intensified and discontent has become more general, class antagonism as a direct result becomes more apparent, and the logic of the Socialist position becomes irresistible.

F. F.

Socialism will utilise the wasted social forces. A million idle or unproductive capitalists, a million unemployed, half a million soldiers, sailors, policemen, and jailors, the pick and flower of the manhood of the country, hundreds of thousands of flunkeys, clerks, ticket-collectors, inspectors, bill posters, distributors, agents, canvassers, and so on, will be set to useful production, to add to the common wealth and increase the common leisure. Think it over!

THE FORUM.

WHY THE WORKING-CLASS REVOLUTION CANNOT BE COMPROMISED.

R. TUNE (New Zealand) propounds the following question:—

Since all previous revolutions have ended in compromises, what guarantee is there that the Socialist Revolution will not also end in a compromise?

Without entering into a discussion upon the assertion contained in the first portion of Mr. Tune's question, it may be pointed out that the two sets of conditions appertaining to the revolutions of the past and the revolution to come are entirely different.

Since the first revolution social systems have been based upon private property and have been class systems. No revolution of the past (I use the term revolution as meaning something very different to revolt) has ever demanded the abolition of the private property basis of society or the abolition of classes. The revolution toward which Socialists have set their faces must abolish both these (they hang together, of course) and it is for this reason, directly or indirectly, that there can be no compromise about the Socialist revolution.

When the rising capitalist class were struggling for their emancipation, emancipation did not mean the same thing for them that it does for the working class to-day. They were not by any means enslaved, much as they suffered from vexatious restrictions. Their emancipation meant simply freedom from these restrictions. They wanted an environment which would permit of their development. They wanted the removal of legal restrictions on the one hand, and the divorcement of the workers from the soil on the other. Their victory, in spite of the so-called compromise, was complete, inasmuch as it gave them the conditions under which they could advance. The feudal class became, indeed, the most powerful agent in the expropriation of the peasants, driving them from their lands and seizing them for themselves.

In such circumstances, the interests of both classes were in accord at one point. Both desired to see the peasants expropriated. One had need of their labour-power, and the other coveted their lands. Hence having obtained all the essentials of their development, the rising capitalist class found compromise the line of least resistance, and acted accordingly. They haven't done badly on it.

The situation is entirely different with regard to the Socialist Revolution. There can be no emancipation of the working class except by the abolition of the whole institution of private property in the means of living. Compromise is impossible because only the whole can give the workers anything. They can get nothing until they have intelligence enough to realise that there is no half way house, and when they realise that they will act accordingly.

Compromise came easy to the capitalist class because it met their needs. It was obviously impossible for production for use under feudal conditions to give place at once to production for sale under capitalist conditions. Such a change had necessarily to wait upon the development of the means and methods of production, and was a comparatively slow process. A compromise, therefore, conceding the essentials for the free development of the new system, was sufficient for the day. The feudal class could be left with many of their privileges without appreciably affecting the manufacturing class, and indeed, the former became absorbed in the capitalist class finally.

The change from production for sale to production for use is not, however, a simple reversal of the former process. It is not a retracing of steps but a marching on. It is a return to the production of use-values, but under conditions which prevent such return taking place piecemeal. The advance from capitalist production to production for use does not, as did the reverse process, necessarily have to wait for great development of the means of production. These means have developed already, and the changed

incentive or object of production does not call for any change of methods. Capitalist development had to proceed through centralisation, division of labour, improvement of means, discipline and training of a class of workers, and the slow growth of the demand for commodities in a world where most people produced all or practically all their requirements. Capitalism required a loosening of feudal bonds in order that this development might go on, and this loosening is spoken of as a compromise. But to day all the essentials for production for use have been developed. Machinery has been sufficiently perfected, labour has been sufficiently sub-divided, the workers have been trained and disciplined, the original organisers have been rendered superfluous and organisation placed in working-class hands.

More than this, the whole world has been so brought into the domain of capitalism, so knit and welded into the very flesh and bone and tissue of the prevailing system, that it is a solid whole, wherein it is impossible for any civilised individual, to escape from the bonds and laws of its being. Utopians have tried, individually and collectively, and have failed. They have tried, in communities on various bases, to reduce their needs to what they can produce themselves and so re-create for themselves the environment of production for use, and their ghastly failure stands as a warning, like an old gallows by the roadside, that laws are not to be lightly flouted. They found the shackles of the system pressing upon them everywhere, and proved for all time that capitalism must fall as a whole when it does fall, and that, notwithstanding the example of previous revolutions, the Socialist Revolution must usher in a complete system, unhampered by the grave-clothes of the present system as a compromise.

Compromise is quite understandable between feudal superiors who held one of the main means of living—the land—and the rising class of merchants and manufacturers who held the other chief means of living—the instruments of labour. Between them existed all the conditions of possible unity as an exploiting class. This unity has since been achieved, thus justifying the compromise. But that was only because the feudal system and the capitalist system were successive steps in exploitation. Production for sale and for profit could develop to a considerable extent under feudalism—indeed, it necessarily had to do so. Hence capitalism could develop under a compromise with feudalism. But there can be no merging of capitalist and working-class interests. From feudalism to capitalism called for no change of ownership as regards the feudal rulers and the capitalists—it was a change of method of production. From capitalism to Socialism, on the other hand, calls for no change of method of production, but for a change of ownership. That this is so voids every possibility of compromise. The capitalists must be owners or not, expropriated or not. There can be no half-way house.

There is no analogy between the two cases. The true analogy is to be found between the expropriation of the peasant proprietors by the combined forces of the feudal aristocracy and the capitalist class, and the future expropriation of the present possessing class by the workers. As all know who have read the history of that monument of human bestiality, there was no question of compromise in the former case; there can be none either in the latter.

A. E. J.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "The Call" (New York).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).

He would very much rather, before he permitted the "revolutionary spirit" to lead him into any such enterprise, feel this *his class* had control of the army - through Parliament. 13

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TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1913.



Fellow workers, the only remedy for your precarious and poverty-stricken condition is to be found in intelligent recognition of your class position. You must recognise that you are mere cogs in the industrial machine - that you are permitted to work only so long as there is profit to be derived from your labour. You must understand what you want and how to get it - then there will be no room for Labour "leaders." You would not need to be led, and you could not be misled. You must organise then inside the Socialist Party, and work consciously for that revolution which will replace poverty and misery

We solemnly declare that prostitution is a pillar of capitalist society, and that these churchmen, these delegates from all ends of the earth assembled, these spokesmen and spokeswomen of the "voluntary societies" of the rich, know it. We solemnly declare that the shame of the White Slave Traffic rests finally on the anointed heads of kings, the surplised shoulders of bishops, the jewelled brows of countesses, the opulent founders of Vigilance Associations, the sanctimonious "knight-errants" of "womanhood, ignorant, misled, deceived." For all these have their fortunes founded on our sisters' shame.

The present writer, however, who has read something of the history of the bloody annihilation of the Communards of Paris by the master class in 1871, and is well aware that the butchery waxed most furious when the workers' weapons were laid down, and their arms folded, takes the liberty of doubting the efficacy of this method of stemming the tide of working-class misfortune if the fight should go against them.

The terrible toll on the lives of the workers through "accidents" in mines and factories and on the streets and railways, and the alarming

After thus emphasising their need for re-organisation his lordship commented on the cost, and pointed to the need for a "great sacrifice on the part of the nation"—the nation, of course,

To-day the workers' children are only taught that will make them useful to the capitalist class. Under a rational system of society the inequalities of production would scarcely enter into the child's education. The entrancing wonders of the world would be unfolded before him; their philosophy would be a world philosophy. The narrow walls of some factory office that now imprisons the mind of the worker would be broken down, and economic freedom would mean intellectual freedom. Assembled the fruits of their labour, anxiety should have no place in the minds of the workers, the establishment of order in the place of anarchy and chaos always brings contentment and happiness.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

THANKS TO THE ENEMY.

The following is taken from the report in the "Daily Telegraph" (25.13.) of Mr. Walter Long's address to the Primrose League. "It was as much to-day a fact as it ever was in the history of our country that some must lead and others must follow, and the leadership naturally fell into the hands of those who had leisure and opportunity to consider for themselves what were the problems of the day, and to offer wise advice to those who did not enjoy the same privileges." In other words, according to this one-time president of the Anti-Socialist Union, the parasite alone is competent to advise his victim. Take that "wise advice and all will be well—with the parasite, of course. One is glad to learn that for this and other jokes Mr. Long was awarded the fifth grade of the Grand Star.

In their appeals for patriotism our masters do not usually tell us point blank that the country is theirs, not ours. The most hypocritical, however, sometimes make mistakes, and if the Bishop of Peterborough let the cat out of the bag when speaking recently on patriotism, it must be remembered that he is more used to dispensing that other chloroform, religion.

The bishop, who was preaching as Chaplain of the Royal Society of St. George, finished by asking for generous help for the Royal Naval Ports Church Building Fund. According to the "Daily Telegraph" report (21.4.13.) the preacher "stated that the object of the fund was to provide sufficient churches in Plymouth and Devonport, Portsmouth, and Chatham for the men working in our naval dockyards, and for their wives and families." During the last generation the population of the four towns mentioned had increased by 200,000. The nation had collected these masses to do the nation's work; they laboured that our land might be spared the horrors of invasion. We were their debtors in temporal things, and we were called upon to aid them in spiritual things. [The italics are not the bishop's.]

Precisely, and, in case there should be any doubt as to who "we" are, it may be mentioned that when "we" assisted at the annual dinner held at the Hotel Cecil in connection with this Royal Society of St. George, it was in the company of Lord Willoughby de Broke, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Desborough, and about three hundred others of those who make up the "nation."

"We are their debtors in temporal things." Decidedly unfortunate, this statement, for it expresses only too obviously the position, not alone of the dockyard workers, but of the working class as a whole, who produce the wealth which is appropriated by the master class.

Much difficulty is experienced in getting clerks and some other proletarians to recognise that their real status in society is the same as that of those other wage workers who produce the means of existence for society as a whole. The lower-paid members, especially, of this pen-pushing brigade become quite indignant when classed as wage-slaves.

This makes one regret that the following should have appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" (24.4.13.) rather than in one of those journals which, by reason of their cheapness and other attractions, are more popular among these self-styled "middle-class" persons.

"The clerk or shopman may at twenty years of age receive 30s. a week and feel well off, but at forty, when he has a family, he finds that his income of 50s. or 60s. is no longer sufficient to meet his expenses, and with no prospect of promotion—for he seldom qualifies himself for the better paid positions—he feels the younger generation treading on his heels, waiting to step into his place. Tied hand and foot by his responsibilities, tied by his education to the one kind of unskilled labour, he is no more free than a slave, for to lose his post is starvation or the workhouse."

* * *

"Judge Hill Kelly refused, at Abegavenny County Court, to order a payment to Henry

Miles of £50, being one-half of compensation money paid into court by the man's employer in respect of an accident. The man said he wanted to provide a home, as he was going to get married, whereas the judge said it was criminal for a man in Miles's position to waste £50 in furnishing. He ordered £20 to be paid out as quite sufficient."

"Lloyd's Newspaper," 22.6.13.

Another example, you see, of the reckless extravagance indulged in by the workers when they get half a chance. One dreads to think what they would do were it not for the restraining influence of their "betters"—and of their poverty.

In the capitalist Press one constantly finds articles showing how to live on meals costing on the average about 3d. each, and lamenting the extravagance of the workers. If, however, the latter regard these jokes as being in bad taste one cannot wonder. But £50 to provide a home! Is it not possible that a proletarian who would spend £50 for such a purpose would be quite prepared, given the opportunity, to live in an inhabitable house? The growth of such notions must be checked. They constitute one, among many, of the incentives to a study of the robbery process involved in capitalist production. As such they may be made use of by the advocates of Socialism. And hasn't that humorous platitudinarian, Lord Raspberry, told us that this would mean the end of all things and the beginning of something else?

* * *

This marriage difficulty reminds one of another beautiful example of bourgeois morality, which came to light recently when the "Daily Telegraph" published the following under the title of "A Marriage Problem":

"A singular predicament, which was solved in a singular way, faced the Morpeth Board of Guardians yesterday regarding the appointment of a porter and a cook. A married couple were required, but the feeling of the meeting was that the posts should be given to Mr. W. J. Bentham, South Shields, and Miss Annie Slater, London, both of whom are single. The marriage question was the only obstacle, and eventually the Guardians decided to offer the positions to Mr. Bentham and Miss Slater, on condition that they became husband and wife before taking up their duties. They have a month yet in which to take or reject this step."

A wonderfully fine solution, certainly, and one that could have occurred only to those thoroughly imbued with the ideas of the bourgeoisie. Among the latter it is natural enough that the amount of property possessed by the contracting parties should be the important consideration when a (regular) marriage is to be arranged, due weight being given, of course, to the possession of titles. What these Guardians of the Poor RATE seem to have overlooked, however, is that among the propertyless quite other ideas may obtain with regard to this subject of marriage—ideas which differ from those of the master class just because they are born of a different set of conditions. These "Guardians," at all events, will do their share to oppose that horror "free love." They are in a position to say: "Away with your proletarian notions of marriage. Adopt our suggestion or seek a livelihood elsewhere!" And they show us here that they intend to make no bones about saying it.

And now may I point out how, after all, the parson who scornfully rejects the idea that "a marriage is a civil contract between two parties" appears to be right on some occasions, for it seems that where a Board of Guardians finds its interests touched, a marriage may be a civil contract between three parties.

A. C. A.

THE LONDON SOCIETY OF COMPOSITORS AND THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

An article dealing with the L.S.C. and its attack upon the "Socialist Standard" will appear in our August issue.

PUBLIC SAFETY VERSUS RAILWAY PROFITS.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.)

II.—THE FIREMAN.

We will now look into the conditions of the spare firemen and firemen of the trunk lines, and in doing so we shall be concerned with men that are actually working the trains.

The spare fireman is a man that has been "passed" to act as a fireman when needed, but who is not always engaged in firing. When he is not doing so he is booked "shed duty as required," and as often as not goes back to cleaning or other shed work. We can briefly pass him by, because when firing he is under the conditions of a regular fireman.

His working hours are ten without a break, as a rule, and his pay is anything from 3s. to 4s. a day when employed firing. But he must exceed five hours in order to get this. When on "shed duty" the wage is something less (usually 3s. 6d.), which is another instance of the shameless robbery of these men, seeing that it is not through their fault that they are "put back" in the shed, or "cancelled."

Once a man is passed for firing he should be treated and paid as such.

As a rule the spare fireman's week is six days. Occasionally, however, it is seven days. He is usually on shunting work, but is sometimes put on long trips—a common practice on the M.R. The period of spare-firing is about two or three years, then the man undergoes a further exam. for a regular fireman.

His promotion generally follows in the order of seniority, but the company "reserves the right of choice for promotion irrespective of seniority"—a clause which obviously leaves plenty of room for jobbery.

Once a man is passed as a regular fireman he is always at work on engines, either on or off shed; so in looking at his working conditions we shall commence to get to grips with the indictment that has already been levelled at the companies: that the men are overworked and underpaid, which are circumstances not consistent with public safety.

Let us briefly look at his conditions. Ten hours constitute his working day. This, for a man standing over a furnace which (according to C. I. Bowen Cooke, of the L.N.W., in his book "British Locomotives") develops a temperature of 5,027 degree Fah., is excessive.

To give some idea of the nature of the work let me quote from an article, "A day's work on the footplate," which appeared in that capitalist organ, "The Railway Magazine," Oct. 1909, and in which the author says: "With 14½ on (a moderate load) I fire up every two minutes, and sometimes oftener." That this is no exaggeration is shown by the fact that on some of the big engines the coal consumed is about 50 lbs per mile.

Before leaving the shed the fireman has to make up his fire, assist in oiling, clean and trim his lamps, fetch oil for his driver, and in many cases clean his "front" and otherwise assist his driver to get the engine ready to back on the train. By this time he must be "squared up" and have steam up to anything between 140 to 225 lbs per square inch.

To get the engine ready to leave the shed half an hour is allowed; to get "on train" from shed another half hour generally, but sometimes only a quarter. In "British Locomotives" Mr. Cooke (Chief Mechanical Engineer L.N.W.) says (p. 353): "Firemen should come to work before booked, and make all preparations with comfort to himself and his driver"—a thing all firemen have to do, for to get an engine ready in a proper manner to ensure safety in the time allowed is impossible, and many firemen "sign on" as much as half an hour before booked in order to make these preparations.

After an engine has run a trip one way "the fire must be cleaned, etc., in readiness for the return journey." ("British Locomotives," p. 370). In the running, when not actually firing, "the fireman must assist his driver in sighting the signals." (Rule 139.) This is the way that he "learns the road."

After the return journey is completed and the engine is "on shed," it has to be "put away," which means thoroughly cleaning all the parts affected by fire, "turning" the engine, filling the tank, and locking up the tools, etc., reporting any losses of same. For this he is allowed half an hour, which is quite inadequate. He then "signs off," and is at liberty for nine hours (eight on the L.B.S.C.) from that time. But "in cases of emergency" he may be called out before he has had nine hours off. No matter what "turn" he is booked, after nine hours have expired from his "signing off," he is the "property" of the company employing him, and is liable to be "called out" at any time. If he is not at home when he is required he is cautioned or reprimanded, and often fined or suspended, for "not being available for duty when required."

The man's turn, as a rule, varies daily, and he does not know what turn he will be until the previous day (the Midland and the L.N.W. keep their men fairly well informed of their turns). As aforesaid, his working day is ten hours, but often circumstances compel him to work overtime, especially when starting his career as fireman on the main line, for which, of course, he is paid. Often a fireman does twelve hours or so, then has nine hours off, for two and three days together, the result being that he is tired before commencing his day's work. This, by the way, being consistent with the companies' ideas of "safety," to say nothing of Rule 6 and the dangerous way he may have to cross running roads during the day's work to carry out the detestable rule 35.

Anyway, his week must not exceed six, or sometimes seven, days (which is quite enough), so after his nine hours off, periods he is given a rest of something like sixteen to twenty hours, but only nine of them are his—he is company's property for the rest of the time, for which he receives nothing.

Of course, anyone with a whit of sense can see that the "men only drive and fire for about four hours per day and are paid ten" ("A Day's Work on the Footplate," "Railway Magazine," Oct. 1909), and the statement of Mr. J. Gooday (Gen. Manager G.E.R.) and his directors, who consider that the "time the men are on duty counts only in the actual running" ("Railway Magazine," March 1907), is mere piffle, and is only intended to poison the mind of the man in the street, who regards such statements, emanating from such journals and gentlemen, as gospel truth.

It will be seen that the life of a fireman is a worry from beginning to end, with bad rest, bad coal, bad engines, bad conditions generally, and bad pay—with which I will deal later.

Now we come to conditions which are rather peculiar to most sons of toil, but which play an important part in dividend making as applied to the Loco. Dpts. of the trunk lines. I refer to "lodging," one of the biggest curses that can befall the loco. man, whether driver or fireman. The sum allowed for a "lodge" is 1s. 6d., and if it exceeds twelve hours, 2s. 6d. The latter price, however, is easily wangled by "calling out" the man a minute or before the twelve hours have expired.

The "main line" men are affected by this, on some lines more than on others. On short lines it is unknown. The men working the long distance goods trains are generally safe for a "lodge out," because they can only get one way by the time their day is up. They, therefore, on their scanty wages, have to keep two homes going, to say nothing of making a smoke as the result of the bad coal supplied. (See "British Locomotives," p. 346.)

The fireman's wages vary from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. per day, according where and by whom he is employed—a good average through the country being about 30s. a week. A main line man might get somewhere about 35s. if he is lucky; but besides "lodging," time worked that he is not paid for, and time at home "waiting" after his nine hours are up for which, as I have said, he gets nothing, and many other expenses connected with the calling, he has to run something like 950 miles.

The wages are nothing like sufficient, neither are there enough men by half, as the long-distance engine working and "lodging" will show. And engines work daily double journeys of 180

odd miles.

The usual term of firing is from twelve to sixteen years, and it is a period of excessive robbery from beginning to end. And while such conditions prevail, and such a set of men are worked as they are, the "welfare and safety" of the travelling public is impossible.

J. SEVIER.

(To be Continued.)

FIRST STEPS IN SOCIALISM.

II.—ARE WAGES NECESSARY?

Our first article under the above heading was devoted to the consideration of the question: "Who are the Working Class?" We will now consider the significance of the working-class position.

The working class are wage workers. That is, they depend for their livelihood entirely upon the money they receive by the sale of their labour power.

It must not be supposed that a wage-worker class has existed through all time. People are so accustomed now-a-days to the wages idea that a great many of them have considerable difficulty in realising that any form or degree of civilisation could have existed without wages. They are so used to the idea that without wages they can get nothing; they are so accustomed to the hard experience that when wages cease to come in they starve; they are impressed and saturated with the concrete knowledge that the orbit of their lives are inexorably prescribed by the magnitude of the magic wage: they are so inured to the aspect presented by these circumstances of their environment, that the admission that under Socialism there will be neither pay nor receiving of wages is sufficient to cause them to reject the Socialist proposition with the remark: "Can't be done!"

But the wages system and the wage-worker, as we understand them to-day, are quite modern social characteristics—newer, say, than St. Paul's Cathedral; newer, perhaps, even than such symbols of God's will on earth as the top-hat and the pipe-clay belt.

When we speak of the wages system and the wage-worker, however, we have in mind a very definite social feature, and it will be as well to explain here exactly what is meant by the terms, for the benefit of those who are new to the study of social science.

If the wage-worker is new, wages, of course, are not. "The labourer is worthy of his hire" was written many generations before the hired labourer was a wage-worker in the modern sense of the term, just as the reference to Joseph's "coat of many colours" was penned ages before the world knew a tailor. Wages are older than the wages system, just as coals are older than the tailoring trade.

The wages system is that system whereunder the whole of the wealth of the community is produced by wage labour. The wage-worker is one whose sole means of subsistence are the proceeds of the sale of his or her labour power—wages.

Now the wages system, as here described, obviously could not exist save in conjunction with a certain form of property ownership. It is not that this ownership must be private ownership. Property was privately owned centuries before the wages system grew up. The social system which immediately preceded the present one was based on private property, yet very little of the community's wealth was produced by wage labour then.

The particular form of private ownership which is essential for the development of the wages system is that form which provides a propertyless class—that form which takes away from a section every shred of the means of living except their labour power. In other words, the whole of the means of production must belong to a section of the people.

This particular form of private property did not exist till comparatively recent times. Prior to its establishment the working class had free access to the land, and consequently had not to depend upon the sale of their labour power for their livelihood. They did occasionally work for wages, just as they did occasionally sell part of

the produce of their labour, in order to procure money to pay taxes, or to purchase the few things required that they did not produce for themselves. But they never became wage slaves while they had access to the soil, for the simple reason that they had at hand the means of producing all the essentials of life for themselves, without being driven to hire themselves to others.

Even the artisans and the handicraftsmen in the towns, where they did work for wages, had their portion of land, on which they produced many of their requirements, and had, besides, reasonable certainty that, when they had become proficient in their craft, the ownership of the implements of their trade would be within their easy reach, and present them with the opportunity of gaining freedom.

So it will be seen that the wages system is by no means an indispensable part of human life. Our ancestors got on very well without it. Indeed, they had neither use nor need for it until they had been stripped of everything they possessed except their labour power.

Only when they had been driven from their homes and their fields and converted into propertyless outcasts did the working class resort to the labour market for their livelihood. Prior to that they had produced wealth for their own consumption, and money had played but small part in their life. Thorold Rogers calculated that about 16s. a year sufficed to cover all the wants of an average working-class family apart from the direct produce of their own labour for one year, and though that sum represented more than it does to-day, it serves to show how small a figure wages cut in mediæval life. For that 16s. worth of goods purchased by a family in a year (the chief item of which was boots) represented all that they consumed of the products of wage labour.

I am perfectly conscious of the fact that things have changed greatly since those days; I am aware that men no longer produce the goods they require to satisfy their own needs; I know that it is utterly impossible for us to go back to the state of things wherein each family produced all their own requirements; I understand how the furthestmost corners of the earth must contribute to the maintenance of the meanest among us, and if it be even it merest highway beggar, who ties his pitiful rags about him with a waste end of string that has already served a dozen worthier purposes, half the world must labour to provide his girdle: and knowing all this, I ask what function is there that wages serve that is not, like wages, the direct outcome of private ownership in the means of living?

I say that we cannot do without wages and the wages system is to say that which is absurd. Though it is true that wages are the means by which the workers live, it is equally true that wages are the means whereby the workers are robbed. The wage serves no other function than to render possible this robbery. It does not even record the fact that its possessor has performed his share of the world's work, for wages have a fleeting identity, and there nothing to show how the coins they consist of are come by.

With the abolition of private property, and wages, and money, it will be very easy to assure that each person shall perform his or her share of the necessary labour of production, and the "problem" of distribution then would be no problem at all—as we shall see in a future contribution.

A. E. JACOMB.

"SOCIALISM VERSUS TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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HOW THE WORKERS ARE BUTCHERED ON THE RAND.

PUTUMAYO is not such ancient history but that one person here and there, with an exceptional memory for grisly tales of barbarity and suffering, can with an effort recall something of the facts of that interesting case. The present writer endeavoured to show that the wave of indignation which swept over the land, from the Cabinet Ministers in our immaculate Parliament to the poet (!) (now deceased) who once stirred the nation's soul with a deathless poem calling upon the British bulldogs to "Hurry Up for Pity Sake!" (the merit of which poem was handsomely acknowledged by it being printed on red cotton handkerchieves and sold at a price within the means of all who had a nose to wipe thereon) might well have been let loose over equally deserving happenings very much nearer home.

That statement did not meet with universal approval. It seemed incredible to some that those smart, jovial, silk-batted gentlemen who rush to and fro between Park Lane and Throgmorton Street, and who carry so gracefully the knighthoods and honours heaped upon them by the Liberal Government, could ever be guilty, could even fall under suspicion of being guilty, of any such atrocities as those with which those strange-named servants of a British company turned the peaceful Putumayo into a river of blood and tears in a "Devil's Paradise."

Recent happenings in South Africa, however, in which British miners, and British soldiers, and British (!) capitalists, and British knights, and the highest of high officers of the British Crown, are concerned, show clearly enough that in all essentials, the "cultured" ones of our Western civilisation are quite as capable, given the materials, as any Portuguese half-breed in the pay of British capital, of creating a "Devil's Paradise" of their own, with British blood and brawn, on the soil of the British Empire.

All the humbug of that sly old servant of Satan, W. E. Gladstone, who covered his machinations in the interests of the ruling class with a slime of "moral" cant, in which the "wrongs" of the Balkan people quivering under the spiked and envenomed heel of "Abdul the Damned" were in particular made to be a mat, jealously guarded and preserved, for him to clean his begrimed boots on, has been, it seems, bequeathed in trust and with compound interest, to the Liberal party. While they are busy fulminating against the "White Slave Trader" at home, they are, with brutal cynicism, crowning the blood reeking fortunes of South African millionaires with titles. So that the political funds of the "Great Liberal Party" may benefit, they make murder respectable by covering it with the cloak of knighthood.

Those who do not know how, and at what cost of working class suffering and misery, these South African fortunes have been amassed, are

invited to think over the scanty particulars here reproduced from a Press which, under the system, fails to suppress much that they would for the simple reason that sensation (and advertisement) is their life's blood.

"However healthy a Transvaal rock-drill man may appear to be on his return to this country," Dr. Haldane told the Departmental Committee on Industrial Diseases in 1907, "he will probably be dead within a year or two." ("Pall Mall Gazette," 7.7.13.)

"The death rate of one section of the men who mine the gold—the machine men or rock drillers—is over 230 per thousand from one disease—miner's phthisis—alone. Such a death rate from a single occupational disease must be unparalleled in the whole industrial world. It can only be compared with King Leopold's Congo Free State.

"Speaking before a representative meeting of mining engineers in Johannesburg in September last Mr. Koetze, the Government mining engineer, said: 'Sooner or later every worker underground in these mines will contract miner's phthisis.'

"The practical result of commissions of inquiry have been recommendations that water be used to keep down the dust which causes the disease. These recommendations have been urged upon the mineowners, in each case with the same result—utter callousness and neglect."

These extracts were written by Dr. G. L. Ugmars, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., and were reproduced in the "Morning Leader" for December 2, 1911.

"No less than 10,000 people die in these mines every." (Mr. Merriman.)

"Miners' phthisis is said to be due to the inhalation of fine dust which arises not merely from rock-drilling without the accompaniment of water, but also from the blasting operations with explosives. Last year more than 1,000 of 3,000 men examined by the Medical Commission were found to have phthisis. No rock-driller could work in the mines for sixteen years and escape it. Death took place as a rule before the age of forty. Here is a table which showed at that time how inevitable is the doom of any man who undertakes this work:

Years of service.	Percentage of men affected.
2½	25
4½	55
6½	70
10½	80
13½	90
15½	100.

"Daily News."

"Then all the miners and the population

know that the mine owners are responsible in the same way for the death rate among the Kafirs, which Mr. Sauer, the Minister for Native Affairs, has characterised, as regards the natives from tropical countries, as little short of murder. There was no need for any limitation in the phrase. The probability is that over 100,000 natives have been killed in the mines since the war." (Mr. R. L. Outhwaite M.P., in "Reynolds's," 6.7.13.)

There can be no escape from such a mass of evidence supplied by the capitalists' own tools and fellows. Ten thousand victims in a year! It would take a continent of Putumayos to equal this stupendous crime. When the war was raging we were told that they were "painting the map red," but never in those days of open and avowed slaughter were such libations of blood poured out to the "Imperial idea" as have been run out, as from a vast broken cask, every year since, to satisfy the blood-thirsty vampires of Park Lane, in the ultra-respectable West End of London.

It is the story of Whitehaven retold in more callous letters. There miners were hurled to death because it would cost their safe and comfortable masters something to ventilate the mine in accordance with the first clause of their own Mines Act. On the Rand thousands of working-class lives are thrown away annually because it would absorb some of the knighted owners' profits to spray with water in the process of rock drilling, and to allow time for the dust to settle after a "blast" before the men returned to the "face." It is the story of rubber retold, on a scale more in keeping with the dignity of the yellow commodity.

It cannot be pleaded that this wholesale murder of black and white is the work of a few of the capitalists alone. It is aided and connived at by the whole master class as such. How the British Government imposed a "hut tax" upon the natives whose land they had stolen, and sent a military force to enforce the payment of the paltry sums that could never pay the expense of collecting them, in order to drive the blacks into the mines to earn the money in which alone the taxes were payable, may not be entirely forgotten by some who do not especially treasure the memory of these curious incidents. It reads and looks and smells remarkably like some of the means resorted to by the "brigands" who cost virtuous England the price of a special commission and a House of Commons inquiry. Ten thousand victims a year! Oh, the stinking hypocrisy of the howl that greeted the revelation of the Peruvian atrocities!

The war which was engineered in order that the mine owners might squeeze another four million pounds profit per annum out of the writhing and quivering carcasses of their white and black slaves was the work of a Tory admini-

stration, but it was reserved for a Liberal Government to make the Transvaal a "self-governing" colony, in order that they might be able to say when miners were to be butchered on the Rand: "We cannot interfere." Strange, is it not, that when the Outlanders were supposed to be writhing in agony under the indignity of being without the franchise, the fact that they were under a foreign Government did not prevent the full armed might of the British Empire being used to "see them righted," but now that these miners are being massacred in cold blood by troops provided and paid by the British Government, under the direction of a high officer of the British Crown, on soil "painted red" with the blood of ten thousand British soldiers, nothing can be done because the Transvaal is a self-governing British colony!

I say nothing about the lives lost in the so-called rioting. Where life is held so cheap it seems little enough to make a bother about. But whose estimate of working-class life is it that counts ten thousand workers lives as of less importance than the cost of providing safe conditions for the mining of 40 million pounds worth of gold? Think of that great army of workers—men of your own class—who must march to death to produce one year's output of gold from South African mines. Ten thousand of them, black and white. For every million pounds 250 lives. We have been nurtured on grim and haunting pictures of the unspeakable Arab slave-caravans, but was ever anything more appalling enacted in all Africa than is enacted by these silk-hatted brigands of Park Lane, West?

Fellow workers, very guarded must be the language of the revolutionary who would criticise those who engineered a great war in order to grab the mines, who have butchered you on a hundred shambles from Peterloo and Featherstone to Llanelli and the Rand, who waste your lives by raising the loadline of ships, and by refusing to adopt automatic couplings on the railways, who murder you by thousands for the mere cost of ventilating coal mines at home and spraying the dust in the mines of South Africa. To speak too plainly of these things is to ask to be sent to prison, for those who set so little store on your lives have taken every cunning care to so hedge about their victims with laws and armed force that they must die almost unheard. Hence much must be left to the reader's imagination. But attention is directed to that clause in our Declaration of Principles which declares that the "armed forces of the nation exist only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers. Its contradiction, in the face of every military action since the war, from Sir George White's (the "hero" of Ladysmith) smashing of the coal porters' strike at Gibraltar to the latest gun-boat demonstration at Leith and cold-blooded butchery in the streets of Johannesburg, is here challenged. It cannot be seriously and truthfully contradicted.

If this is true, then it is true also that the hope of the workers lies in obtaining control of those armed forces by capturing political power.

That is the way out—the Socialist way. First to deprive the murder class of political control by ceasing to elect them and their Labour allies to Parliament—electing Socialists instead—then by expropriating them and establishing the Socialist Commonwealth. There is no other way. A. E. JACOMB.

"SOCIALISM

VERBA

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

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THE VITAL QUESTION.

ALL men and women, whether they happen to be rich or poor, capitalist or worker, whether they are of much intellectual, physical, and social merit or are but poor fools devoid of all the graces, at some time or other come face to face with what is, did they but know it, the greatest and most important crisis of their lives. I mean that moment when they are forced to ask themselves the questions: "What am I doing? what am I? where am I going?"

This moment of self-interrogation comes to everyone, brought about, it may be, by something they read, but however coming, compelling them to "take stock" of themselves. The majority of people burk the question—cannot or dare not attempt to answer. Especially at the present time, when social conditions are tending to breed a class (the working class) whose whole outlook on life is one of physical and mental supineness, and, on the other hand, a class (the capitalist class) which looks on life as a period of gross and violent pleasures, of brutal indifference to anything but its own well-being, this supremely important question is put on one side by almost everybody.

It is an inconvenient question, an ugly question—the kind of thing that keeps one awake at night, that creeps between us and the pleasure we are taking or the work we are doing; and so it is easier to endeavour to forget it than to answer it, to shelve it until we have time from our pleasures or rest from our work to think about it. We are, most of us, cowards—the worker as well as the capitalist—frightened of life, drifting downward to destruction on the current of present-day degeneration.

There are, however, some—we at least who are Socialists—who, having been brought up against this dead wall of self-ignorance, realise how imperative it is that it should be stormed and broken down. We realise that this question of our present position and future activities must be answered, and answered correctly, for on the answer we give rests not only our existence as individuals, but the existence of the human race.

The capitalist class is hopeless. The uselessness of expecting help from such a class becomes every day more and more apparent. (Not that Socialists ever expected or wanted help from the capitalists.) If society is ever to be established on a basis whereon the great potentialities of life may have a chance of fruition, then it is, and can only be, the working class who will thus establish it.

To expect the capitalist class, with their narrow vision, their lack of imagination, their callous indifference and their unctuous self-satisfaction ever to engage in any task other than the conservation of themselves as a class, would be absurd. The absurdity becomes even plainer when it is remembered that the inception of the Socialist basis of society implies the total elimination of the capitalist class.

The future of mankind depends upon the strength and wisdom of the workers. But the pity of it is that the workers, who are strong enough and wise enough to produce all the world's wealth, are still so ignorant of their position in society, of their position as wage-slaves, as to render nugatory the energy they expend on the economic and political fields. They will run after every will o' the wisp, will flounder in every economic and political quagmire, before discovering the only road that will lead them to their emancipation from their present slave-position.

Liberal and Tory politicians, labour leaders, priests, and premen, social reformers, Anarchists and Syndicalists, cranks and charlatans of every description, dangle before the eyes of the workers the false lights of their particular nostrum in their endeavour to beguile the unwary. Bewildered by the multitudinous clamour arising from the army of misleaders, can we wonder that the average working man (or working woman) is unable to think out for himself the problems that confront him, such as his relation to his fellows and to society as a whole?

It therefore becomes the task of the Socialist—who has realised his class position as a wage-slave, who clearly understands what is necessary to alter that degrading position, and whose

whole activities are focussed upon the change in society necessary if freedom from wage-slavery is to be accomplished—to try by any and every means to concentrate the minds of the members of the working class on the things that matter. We, as Socialists, understand too well what we are! We realise—and we want every other of our fellows to realise—that we are units in a vast multitude of men and women, working day after day, often far into the night, for what is the bare necessary amount of food, clothing, and shelter to keep us fit to continue this unending round of toil. We are the products of a system that gives us the worst food, the shoddiest clothing, the most meagre shelter. We live in an atmosphere of physical and mental squalor. Art and literature are to us practically non-existent. The greatest work of art gives forth no message; the noblest literature is so many empty words. The natural beauties of the world are not for us. We have not the time nor the opportunity, not even the inclination in many cases, to study them. We are the workers; our life's business is to work so that our masters may enjoy (!) life. We are the slaves of a class composed of men and women who are, in a sense, themselves the slaves of the present social system of capitalism. Can there be a greater degradation than to be the slave of slaves?

But the difference between us and the working men and women who do not yet understand their class position is that we are not content to remain as we are. To be free, as far as freedom is possible in a social sense, is the goal towards which we are striving. And we know that only by the complete overthrow of capitalism, the destruction of the present system of private ownership in the means of life and the establishment of the common ownership by the whole people in the means of life, can the slaves of capitalism throw off their shackles and be free men and women.

We know, moreover, that only by the co-operation of the working class in its entirety can this be accomplished. The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. We, for our part, believe and hope that that co-operation and help we ask for will be forthcoming, and to obtain this help and co-operation is the object of our propaganda.

Every day it is becoming more evident to the workers that they are slaves and nothing more. However objectionable the term may be to many the facts of everyday experience are proving this to be the case. The question as to what the position of the worker is in society needs little answering. But the question which every member of the working class will sooner or later be compelled to answer, the question as to whether he or she is going backward or forward, onward to a time when life shall be free and full and joyous or to an atavistic period when the chains that bind the slave shall gall even more than now, when freedom shall be a forgotten dream, when life itself shall be a hell darker than any Dantesque vision—this question still awaits a reply.

It would seem, indeed, that the wheel is come almost to full circle. Men and women of the working class, it is for you to answer your own question! Whither goest thou? F. J. WEBB.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. HURLE, Walthamstow.—Your questions on Rates and Taxes and Wages will be answered in our next issue.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Call" (New York).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

THE FORUM.

THE BOGEY OF THE PALLIATIVE.

WE have received the following request for information from a reader. As our reply is likely to prove of general interest we afford it the publicity of these columns.

Gentlemen,—I should feel much obliged if you would answer the following questions for me:

(1) If a Bill was brought forward in Parliament to establish a 30s. minimum wage all round, would the Socialist delegate support it by word or deed?

(2) Supposing the above object were accomplished, would not that be palliating the condition of the workers to some extent, therefore constituting in itself a palliating measure, and consequently conflicting with your idea of hostility to all palliatives? Should a Socialist delegate support a capitalist legislative measure to this effect? Also, would it not render the minds of the workers more passive for a time, thus putting back the clock of emancipation?

(3) Again supposing the above were an established fact, the cost of production would be increased to the extent of the increase in wages. Would not that determine a higher price on the market for commodities which are essential to human life, to which increase the working class must submit or starve, as they would be faced with an economic barrier of an all-round increase of cost of food, clothing and boots?

Result: condition no better for the working class; a more rapid growth of combines and the pushing out of the smaller distributors to extinction as such. W. H.

The three questions are based on a misunderstanding of the Socialist position. This is shown clearly in question 2, which may therefore be dealt with first.

The ruling idea of the Socialist Party is the attainment of Socialism. "Hostility to all palliatives" is not, and never has been, the "idea" of the S.P. (taking the word "palliative" to mean simply any ameliorative proposition that leaves capitalist control intact).

The Socialist Party, however, shows that the road to Socialism does not lie through "palliatives," and that even where such measures may effect a slight improvement in the lot of any workers, they are by their nature simply patches on a rotten fabric, and consequently in no way instalments of the new society. In short, nearly all so-called palliatives do not palliate; and even where they may do so, the economic development of capitalism progressively produces ill effects that ever outstrip every palliative effort, and make the need for Socialism more imperative.

Further, even were the work of the S.P. simply an attempt to cause the enactment of reform measures that would appreciably benefit the whole working class, it would first be necessary for the Party to conquer the power of the State. Thus even for reform worth the name, a revolution would be necessary, whereas Socialism could be had at the same price. Moreover, the workers could be more easily united as a whole for Socialism than for a programme of sectional, mutually conflicting, pettifogging reforms.

These are some of the reasons, together with the important fact that the economic trend makes Socialism the only practical proposition, that make it impossible for The Socialist Party to put forward a reform programme.

The task of the working-class party is the conquest of the governmental machinery and forces, for Socialist ends. Consequently support is only useful to the party on that understanding. To pander to the reform mania would attract non-Socialists and weaken the party, while the absence of positive or useful result would spread disgust and apathy.

A reform programme is, in fact, fraudulent, particularly from the Socialist standpoint. Therefore, while willing to secure any amelioration or help possible for the workers in their fight against capital, the Socialist Party realises that Socialism transcends all else, and stands distinct from all other parties on a programme of Socialism and nothing but Socialism. No palliation could be effective enough, in view

of the necessary conditions of the development of capitalism, to put back the hour of emancipation to any appreciable extent. It could only demonstrate once more the helplessness of anything short of Socialism. What does put back the hour of emancipation is the false hope in reform assiduously fostered by astute capitalists and ignorant or corrupt Labour politicians.

It is scarcely necessary to state (in view of the utter barrenness of the parties who would barter the workers' future for a present crumb) that such a revolutionary policy will be far more fruitful in possible ameliorations than the policy of the Labour Party or the B.S.P. Moreover, any slight benefits gained by the revolutionary party's activity would intensify the revolutionary policy for Socialism, even were it not a fact that economic conditions worsen the workers' lot far more rapidly than benefits could be obtained. The workers' party, however, having raised no false hope in such benefits, would have all to gain and nothing to lose.

Since it is, as has already been shown, incorrect that the S.P.G.B. "idea is hostility to all palliatives," it is clear that the attitude of a representative of the workers' party on any measure will depend on the measure itself and the conditions at the time. It is necessary to know the clauses of the Bill first of all, and then the party, in possession of the vital facts, must express, democratically, its will in the matter. These conditions cannot be fulfilled in the discussion of such an imaginary absurdity as a "30s. minimum wage all round."

As a live party, using present-day facts as a basis for its Socialism, the Socialist Party must face all the facts, and decide in view of the actual facts. It cannot sterilise itself in an ignorant formula, or blind itself to future development.

Unfortunately, such a measure as is suggested by the phrase "a minimum wage of 30s. all round" is quite utopian and useless for the purpose of example. For political and economic reasons of the strongest kind "30s. minimum all round" is impossible. Only where, by successive modifications, exemptions, exceptions, permissions, and restrictions, the actual measure obliterates the "30s.," the "minimum," and the "all round," does it approach the realm of probability. So long as capitalists rule and capitalism lasts, so long will competition in the labour market and in the world market be with us, and unemployment dog our steps. These facts alone completely nullify any such utopian measure even if, by a miracle, a capitalist Parliament were to enact it. Why, then, make a bother about reform when only Socialism can help?

Regarding question 3, this is based on an economic fallacy. Wages do not determine prices. It is, moreover, a historical fact that an increase in wages is scarcely ever obtained until after the rise in prices. But even if the economic assumption in the question were not wrong the argument would still fail.

If a rise in wages did mean a proportionate rise in prices, the workers would still gain. They produce all commodities, but buy back less than one third of them in value. The capitalist class buy the rest, and pay two thirds or more of the increase thereby. Consequently the workers would gain over two-thirds of the nominal increase in wages.

Prices, however, are determined in the ultimate by the amount of useful necessary labour involved, and not at all by the amount of wages paid. On this matter compare "Value, Price, and Profit," by a famous but little studied Socialist economist. It touches the spot.

For the rest, the questions raise important and interesting points, some of which have been dealt with at length in an attempt to make things clear. Other points have, perforce, been left for private study. The fact that the attitude suggested by the questions is based on a misunderstanding has made it difficult to be brief. Yet the knowledge of economics, and of Socialism in its wider aspects, that is required to rectify the point of view from which the questions arise could not possibly be given in a single letter. It is consequently urged that a study of the literature of the party be made, and the result will be an increase in the membership of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

EX. COM. S.P.G.B.

WHITE SLAVERS IN PARLIAMENT.

"The Parliament of Man—the Federation of the World." Thus sang the poet—but it is not yet. The Parliament of our time is an assembly of traffickers in slaves—of all colours but mostly white—of both sexes but of women increasingly.

During the past month the dockers of those busy ports, Hull, Leith, etc., have struck against the tyranny of the slave-owners. These most helpless of casual labourers, the men who congregate round dock gates for hours in the hope of obtaining a few hours slavery, found themselves faced by the majesty of the law—the law made by robbers to sanction robbery.

The representatives of mighty moneyed interests made demands for police and military, and the Liberal Home Secretary promptly ordered troops to the seat of struggle. "Reynolds" (20.7.13) announced "Warships Ready," not to fight the Germans, but the white slaves of the black international. This Liberal paper says: "Six gunboats of the mine-laying class have arrived at the port with several hundred men ready to be landed to protect life and property." The lives and property of the traders in flesh and blood. "The military and naval authorities are now acting conjointly in the matter"—all in the interests of the shipowners and merchants who use Parliament so well to further their own ends.

The dockers at Hull and elsewhere will see these things repeated while they vote into power Liberals and their Labour and Tory allies, what time they rely upon an inefficient and out-of-date trade union to prosecute their economic struggles.

The Wilson family of Liberal shipowners boast of a generation's representation of Hull; of such is the blindness of Labour!

For many weeks the white slaves of the Black Country have been fighting for 23s. per week for wearing out their lives before furnaces and kilns and making wealthy the shining lights of the Liberal and Tory parties. After a sad and foredoomed struggle they have gone back to work on a compromise of 22s. per week.

Recently it was the girls and women of the adjacent towns and Cradley Heath who were driven to strike. These women, making chains of iron for those who hold them bound in chains more cruel than can be forged out of any metal, stayed out some weeks, until the Board of Trade (in white slaves) settled the matter by ordering employers to pay "all workers except learners" the starvation rate of 23d. per hour. When the lace workers of Nottingham rose against their death-dealing wage the same Trade Boards Act passed by the parasites' Parliament fixed their wages at 23d. per hour for "all workers except learners." The tailoresses in the bespoken (better class) branch of the male garment trade were next treated to Christian charity in the shape of 34d. per hour for "all workers except learners."

It may, indeed, be truly said that the Trade Boards were used to make coffins for the toilers.

This same Parliament decided that 5d. per hour was a "fair wage" for the navvies building a new naval base at Rosyth. The men struck for 6d., which was the local rate, whereupon the manager of the local Labour Exchange proceeded to Dublin to hire the sons of Erin at 53d. per hour. Meanwhile the Irish Party of hungry politicians voted with the Government against enforcing any higher wage than 5d. To add to the irony of the situation, the men building the new naval base found the harbour held by gunboats sent by the plutocrats' Parliament to shoot them if they deemed it desirable.

Space fills and time flies. I had intended to deal with the latest developments of what is sanctimoniously called "The White Slave Traffic," the last hope of the beaten and broken derelicts of murderous industrialism. Another phase of the trade in white slaves arranged by Parliament—I refer to the white slaves of insurance—also demands attention, but both these must await a future issue. A. K.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, "The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193, Great Britain, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

Twelve Months, post free . . . 1s. 6d.
Six 9d.

The Socialist Standard,

FRIDAY,



AUG. 1, 1913.

THE LONDON SOCIETY
OF COMPOSITORS

AND THE

"SOCIALIST STANDARD."

In the May issue of the "London Typographical Journal" the Socialist Standard is advertised. The advertisement takes the form of an attack, in which this Party is charged with producing its official organ in a "NON-SOCIETY OFFICE," and wherein incitement is given to the members of the London Society of Compositors to act with a view to getting this altered.

The immediate result was that at many of our public propaganda meetings our speakers were bombarded by L.S.C. members and others, with such questions as: "Where is the Socialist Standard printed?" and "Why do you support rat-shops that employ blacklegs?"

In most cases the questioner's air of injured innocence coupled with a display of bad feeling made it quite clear that, while, apparently, he sincerely believed it to be nothing short of sacrilege to have anything printed outside a "society" house, he was obviously as ignorant of the facts relative to the production of our party organ as he was of the rottenness of his own "sacred" trade union. Our speakers, of course, were quite able to deal with such, and that line of attack was speedily abandoned.

Meantime, on the request of Mr. T. E. Naylor, of the L.S.C., the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party agreed to receive Mr. Davies, Organising Secretary of the L.S.C., on the matter. In the course of the interview this gentleman made the following admissions:—

- (1) That the L.S.C. did not know where the Socialist Standard was produced or
- (2) how it was produced.
- (3) That it would have been more fair if the L.S.C. had made enquiries of us before "black-listing" us.
- (4) That it might be advisable for "legal and political" reasons for a "revolutionary working-class paper" to obscure its place of production.

Mr. Davies then explained that his society was desirous that the "composition" of the paper should be done at a "fair house," defining a "fair house" as an office where the employer pays the wages and observes the hours and conditions as approved by the L.S.C., and when he was assured that such definition could not meantime be applied to the production of the Socialist Standard, since it is not "set up" in any "office" within the meaning of the trade language, he again admitted that it was a pity his society had not known that before, as had they been aware of the facts, he was quite sure they would not have put our journal on the "black list."

Mr. Davies was then asked if he would request his Committee to publish a retraction and an apology. This he was not prepared to do, but he said that if a letter (the text of which was agreed upon) was sent to the "Typographical Journal" he would use his influence with the editor to have it inserted and thus close the incident.

The letter was duly sent and inserted in the columns of the "Typographical Journal," and there, as far as we are concerned, the matter could have rested had not the editor of that paper (who, we understand, is Mr. T. E. Naylor, of the L.S.C.) thought fit to publish with our letter a false and dishonest comment.

Says the "Typographical Journal": "We acquit the Socialist Party of any deliberate intention to produce their paper under any other than fair conditions. . . . Pending a satisfactory outcome of the negotiations now proceeding we must insist on retaining the name on the Objection List."

Now it is a deliberate lie to say "negotiations now proceeding," and although we wrote Mr. Naylor under date June 13, asking him what negotiations were referred to, he has not yet (July 29) been able to tell us. Seeing that no negotiations are proceeding, our name is likely to remain on the L.S.C.'s objection list for a considerable time—and we have no hesitation in saying that this is exactly what Messrs. Naylor & Co. wish.

The Socialist Standard is a Socialist paper—the official organ of the Socialist Party, while Mr. Naylor and many of his committee are pseudo-Socialist; hence the pitiful attempt on the part of a few canting hypocrites to damage our circulation.

Although our organ is not "set up" in a "NON-SOCIETY office," and although it is actually printed in an office that has for years appeared on the "Fair List" of the L.S.C., we wish it to be clearly understood that we do not worship at the shrine of Trade Unionism, most certainly not at that of such a perversion of Trade Unionism as is typified by the L.S.C.

Nor, understanding as we do, the evils inherent in the capitalist system, can we engender such a horror of the "non-society" man as some ultra Trade Unionists profess to feel.

Therefore it is really with feelings of disgust and contempt that we listen to the unctuous twaddle of Mr. Naylor, who, it might appear, would put a ban on everything that does not carry the seal of Pope (or is it Father?) Naylor from the "chapel" of St. Bride Street.

Yet what is the record of this man and his Committee? Prior to the recent strike in the printing trade they were doing their best to keep men out of the society. During the strike they were advertising for all and sundry to come and join. And after miserably muddling through the worst managed strike of modern times—a strike in which they lost everything but the contempt of the masters and the pity of their fellows, while becoming the laughing-stock of the printing trade, Mr. Naylor now PERMITS L.S.C. members to pose as non-unionists in order to get work and thus relieve the drain on the society's funds—which are needed for the maintenance of useless, because incapable, officials.

Can Mr. Naylor deny the above? Dare he deny that he "permits" his members to leave their "cards" with him while they go and work as non-society men, with non-society men, in non-society houses, under non-society conditions? In his "Annual Report" of the L.S.C. issued February 1910, Mr. Naylor writes:—

"AS REGARDS MEMBERSHIP THERE IS A REDUCTION ON THE YEAR OF 112, PARTLY BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE POLICY OF RESTRICTION CARRIED OUT BY YOUR COMMITTEE. . . . SO FAR AS IS POSSIBLE, WE MUST CONSERVE THE INTERESTS OF OUR UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS, WHOSE POSITION WOULD BE MADE EVEN MORE PRECARIOUS BY THE TOO FREQUENT ADMISSION OF STRANGERS."

Here we have this pseudo-Socialist humbug of a labour leader desiring to keep men out of the society, thus making them "blacklegs," and then endeavouring to corner all the work for Society men—thereby condemning those kept out of the Society to perpetual unemployment, or banishing them from London. Meanwhile, with consummate impudence, he is prepared to give "permits" to his society men to play the role of non-unionists!

Could dirty, devilish deceit descend lower? Could the idea of Trade Unionism be reduced to a greater mockery? Could more noxious cant be conceived than that those men should

prate about "FAIR houses" and fair conditions of Labour? Yet these are the men who would impeach the Socialist Standard! UGH!!

Arrogating the virtues to themselves, they point the finger of scorn at us. They put us on the "Objection List"—we return the compliment. We put the L.S.C. Committee and the "Typographical Journal" on our objection list, and we do so because we object, in view of the above, to Messrs. Naylor and Co. interfering with us—after all, there are limits; and further, because even if our party organ was "set up" in a non society shop (which it is not), it could even then be done by L.S.C. men, and Mr. Naylor knows it.

Therefore let Naylor & Co. see to themselves. To the rank and file of the L.S.C. we say read the Socialist Standard and think for yourselves. Soon you will arise and sweep out the Augean stables of St. Bride Street—the sooner the better if you wish to save your society for Trade Unionism.

PUTTING DOWN REBELLION.

A Liberal Government are in power. This, of course, is equal to saying that cowardly bullying will reach its zenith during the period of the present administration. We have had many noisome examples up to date, and now we are treated to another, in which humble people in Ireland are arrested and charged with conspiring to publish and circulate seditious libels concerning the Government and their armed forces. The offenders are alleged to have posted in the thoroughfares of Belfast placards stating that the "soldiers and police are used by the Government to crush the working man when he stands up for his rights."

We are perfectly well aware that a statement does not necessarily have to be untrue to be a libel. We know that a famous lawyer has laid it down that "the greater the truth the greater the libel," and it will be very interesting, in view of the use that was made of troops in Belfast a year or two back, in view of the part the military played in the great railway strike of August 1911, in view of the police activities in Manchester, Liverpool, and London during the last two years, in view of the menace of the gun-boats at Grimsby and Hull, and within the last fortnight, at Leith; it will be interesting, we repeat, in view of all this, to observe whether the Government intend to rely upon the truth of the libel to magnify the enormity of the "crime."

However, we do not blame the Government for repressing every attack upon the security of the ruling class. Men holding the view that it is true that "the soldiers and police are used by the Government to crush the working man when he stands up for his rights" will by the force of logic expect those forces to be set in motion directly a blow is aimed at those who control them. To let light in upon the purpose of the armed forces was therefore bound to be "regarded by the law officers of the Crown as of the highest importance." Only what might be expected, therefore, has happened.

This latest piece of bullying, however, shows up the Liberals as what they are—the most cowardly of all political parties. For "King" Carson can openly incite to rebellion, and even go the length of enrolling and swearing thousands for the adventure, yet the Government dare not lay hands upon the powerful rebel. But when it comes to a couple of shop assistants, then—why then it looks like a dodge of Lloyd-Georgeian cunning to convert Ulster to Home Rule by the simple course of sickening it of "Saxon" tyranny.

NOTICE.

All sympathisers living in the Kilburn District are asked to communicate with

T. W. PASS,
4 CARDIGAN ROAD,
KILBURN.

with a view to joining the Kilburn branch now being formed.

PUBLIC SAFETY
VERSUS
RAILWAY PROFITS.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.)

III.—THE DRIVER.

How often has one gone on any busy station and seen a crowd of people gathered round a large engine just about to "get away" with a world famous train! And how often have we heard very harsh and untrue things said about the men thereon, especially in the neighbourhood of August 1911, by the master class, and even by many misguided workers!

"The men have fine jobs and get good money, and they ought not to be allowed anywhere where beer and spirits are sold, nor to smoke, for the responsibility of these men is great, and every precaution should be taken." That is what I have often heard from "gentlemen," and that, no doubt, expresses the ideas of many people on the subject.

I will attempt to show what a "fine job" and what "good money" falls to the lot of the engine driver.

As regards beer, Carrie Nation herself could not have said anything stronger; besides, it implies that the majority of accidents are due to drink, which is not the case—though doubtless there have been times when a loco. man has been at fault in this respect.

I am not advocating the "Standard's" "right to get drunk." I agree that "every precaution should be taken." But to debar the men from having any beer or tobacco is not precaution, but only tyranny. Real precautions cost money, and hence lower dividends, so they are not taken.

At the commencement of these articles I stated that in order to cope with the dangers of their calling, all men of the running department should be assured of a decent living, decent conditions, perfect machinery, good education, and encouragement. All this is essential to making a man thoroughly efficient. But all, alas! is sadly lacking.

The fireman who has done about sixteen years swinging the shovel first undergoes a very stiff exam. to see if the fire has "killed" his eyes. If such is the case he is ruthlessly cast aside, but if he gets through he is in for an exam. of the engine that no one has taught him—unless it is his driver, who only tells him what he has had to find out for himself. If he passes he is then a "spare driver"; i.e., he drives if there is a job, but if not he has to go firing, with a corresponding reduction in pay. He is usually "spare driving" about four years, and then, after passing more exams. and tests, he becomes a full-blown driver.

Let us look at this man, whom we perhaps have seen with a pipe on as he sits down for a minute or two before running something like 350 miles. Upon his presence of mind and vigilance depends the safe running of the train, and one would think that, to keep him fit for a task that must tax him to the utmost, he above all men would be assured of decent conditions, pay, and rest. But far from this is the case.

The driver's hours are ten, and there is plenty of overtime. And besides being "in steam" at home, for which he is not paid, he is a victim of "lodging out."

It will be quickest, perhaps, to describe a driver's day's work. His first duty is to "sign on." He must then read the notices—whether they concern him or not he must read and know them. He then proceeds to get his engine ready. "Everything that could possibly go wrong must be examined" ("British Locomotives," p. 348). At the same time he must oil the whole of the working parts. Often he must make a shunt to get water and coal. Having done all this, he "whistles up," and goes right away to back on to his train at a terminus or wait for it at a roadside station.

From signing on to "right away" half an hour is allowed (in the interest of safety) which is far too short a time in which to do the work satisfactorily on the big engines of to-day. This is well known to the officials, as Mr. Bowen Cooke says that the statement that the firemen should come on before booked applies equally to the drivers. ("British Locomotive," p. 383.)

Often only a quarter of an hour is allowed to get on the train, and this is the first the public sees of the driver when he has been at work an hour and a half.

When the driver backs on the train he delivers a "ticket" to the guard, who times the train throughout the trip, stating whether he is early or late at various points and why. And if the driver is not "to time," and no "satisfactory" excuse is forthcoming, it means a fine or suspension, even if the engine is vastly overloaded.

Another examination of the brake apparatus is made here to see if it is all right on the train, in accordance with rule 3d Vacuum Appendix, and the guard tells him what load he has on, and the brake-power under his control.

The average express-train load, throughout the country is about 350 tons behind the tender on passenger, and about 45 waggons (average capacity 10 tons) or about 750 tons on goods trains. (These waggons, by the way, are loose coupled, and have no brake-power provided to "hold" them, except a 10- or 20-ton egg-box. Even this seems, in the eyes of those jealous guardians of the "public safety," the railway directors, to be too much, for within the last few weeks a goods guard on the Midland Railway was dismissed for refusing to take a train with insufficient brake-power, according to that company's own rules. To have taken the train would have directly affected the driver in working it, and woe betide him if he lost control over it.)

We must now consider the "homework" a driver has to do to properly work his train. He has an Appendix consisting of about 1,200 pages, with the working time-table, which he must know—for he dare not take his eyes off the road while he is running. Weekly notices are issued to him in reference to any alterations of signals and repairs to the road, and he must be prepared to act on them. Many a "day off" of a driver is taken up in learning all this printed matter, which is, in effect, part of his work, and for which he receives nothing.

We must not, however, forget the Rule Book, containing over 260 rules, which it is imperative he must know.

Still now the signal is "off," the flag waved and whistle blown and we are on the move. Through rain, snow, fog, wind, and boiling sun this frail hero is now "doing his duty," ever mindful of what he has behind him, and knowing only too well what it means if he does not get over the road to time—at speeds which are sometimes criminally excessive. But we are a queer people in a queer system.

Besides driving his own train the driver must be prepared to safeguard trains travelling on the opposite road (Rule 191c), and occasionally to assist the fireman, either manually or vociferously. He must make no "unnecessary" noise in the working, nor must smoke be emitted from the engine, for either of these offences are rewarded with a fine or suspension, and in the case of smoke it falls on the fireman as well, for "being concerned with driver in making a smoke when working train" ("British Locomotives," p. 346.)

After he has worked one way according to written orders, the driver "comes off" the train and gets into a siding or the nearest loco. shed, and there "another examination must be made by the driver in readiness for the return journey" ("British Locomotives," p. 370). The return trip is performed as before, after which the engine is taken to the shed and again examined, and put away.

When the driver leaves his train the guard gives him back his tickets, which he then has to copy out on to a "way-bill," also stating what coal and oil he has had, what coaches attached and detached, and make out a report of any irregularity in the day's work.

This bill sometimes takes half an hour to write out, and then the driver has to enter in the "repair book" whatever he may have found wrong with the engine during his examinations and in the running. He then finds out his turn for the next day, "books off," and goes home.

From the time of arriving on the shed half an hour is allowed to get clear away and "book off," but it usually takes nearer an hour.

Such is a very brief outline of a day's work on the footplate. The number of hours worked by a driver in a week actually on the job amounts to anything between 60 and 80, to say nothing

of the work of memorising he has to get through at home.

Now a word as to the pay. "Spare" drivers, as a rule, get 5s. 6d. per day, and when firing 6d. less. The "registered" driver usually starts at 6s., and continues at this for three years or so, until he has advanced to occasionally getting a "running" job. Many companies then "bracket" the pay of drivers. If a "bracketed" man runs six miles he is entitled to 7s. a day; if he runs less he only gets 6s. And, needless to say, the mileage is made up as a rule so that he only gets the 6s. I know of a case where one mile is deliberately cut out of the mileage table in order to "dish" drivers out of 1s. a day. From A to B is three miles, but the return trip over the opposite pair of rails is only given as two, so the driver making that journey, though he actually runs six miles, is only allowed to book five!

Generally when a man is properly "on the road" (i.e., does little or no shunting), his wage is 7s. a day. Occasionally 8s. is the highest wage of a main-line driver in this country, and this, with all expenses to be paid, including "lodging" away from home, is shamefully inadequate.

The average shunting and local drivers' wage is from 3s. 6d. to 4s. a week, and on the main lines it is higher where the mileage rates are in force. Long distance engine working is a favourite dodge of the companies' to save additional engines and men; so, as a general thing, many companies lay it down that 150 miles shall be a day's work. But owing to the long distance working, many men get 1½, 1½, or 2 days in one, which looks very nice—on paper.

The men, however, are worn out after these long trips, and where they are in vogue, usually follow a long trip by a short one. This often means 9 hours off after having worked 12, 13, and sometimes even 14 hours on the job, which is clearly a menace to public safety.

Other companies have the "trip" system—so much for the trip—which on a number of lines means hours worked for nothing at all. A few companies work on "classification," paying different rates for different trains worked; so many a man's hours are paid at two or three different ratings in one day.

Anyway, the average "crack" driver's earnings are a little less than £2 10s. per week, for which, as in the case of the fireman, something like 950 miles must be run.

The safety of the driver or the public is not allowed to stand in the way of the sweating of the railway servants and the heaping up of profits. Signals are placed anywhere, and not in the best position to be read; and many of them cannot be seen until one is quite close to them. On most lines no difference is shown by night between a "home" and a "distant" signal, nor are the slackening notice-boards illuminated. In the "interests of public safety" the driver has to guess where these notices—in fact, many lines discard them altogether. This same applies to water trough and crane notice boards, and also gradient boards. Chance rules the road. The driver is even placed on the wrong side of the engine to see the signals and station work himself, and he has to ask his mate to look for him. Even in the matter of stopping a train the "actual" brake-power is not known: only the "absolute" power is shown when running, and the actual power at the driver's command often falls short of that shown on the brake gauge. Nothing is told him as to where to apply the brake—he has to find this out from his own experience.

A further example of the elaborate precautions taken to procure safety is found when, in long-distance working, the driver has to leave the regulator and swing the shovel because the half-starved fireman becomes exhausted. And again in the common practice of putting a young and inexperienced fireman on a heavy job in order to save a few pence—which reacts on the driver. At the best his hands and mind are over-crowded, and it is murder to impose these additions to his duties.

Now that we have briefly looked at the conditions under which our engineers work, we can truthfully say that their lot is a hard one, and that it is a period of continual overwork. Any child knows full well that such a state of affairs cannot exist side by side with safety. A study of what is here laid bare will show that

the conditions of labour of the men upon whom the safety of those using the railways depends constitute a public scandal. But there is still more speeding-up in the air so far as the Loco. Dept. is concerned, which will make railway travelling still more dangerous. And until the railway magnates, together with all other property owners, are dispossessed, and the railways, together with all the other means and instruments of production and distribution, become socially owned, profit will be the first consideration, and the public welfare and safe services quite a secondary matter.

J. SEVIER.

[To be Continued.]

SOCIALISM V. SECULARISM.

It will be remembered that during the time the "Daily Standard" was carrying on its campaign against what it euphemistically called "The Red Peril," the S.P.G.B. was mis-represented by a holy leech as being Atheistic first and Socialistic afterwards. Of course, the Socialist Party at once and rightly repudiated the allegation; but in view of the fact that this lie of the reverend gentleman is widely accepted as the truth, and that it is being persistently circulated both by the enemies of Socialism and the ignoramuses of Secularism, each for purposes of their own, it is thought advisable to set out in plain and unmistakable language the attitude of the S.P.G.B. towards the movement known as

ATHEISTIC SECULARISM.

In the course of a debate (Cohen v. Gun) on the subject of "Theism v. Atheism," a prominent speaker for the National Secular Society pointed out that "Theism is always, in the ultimate, merely an expression of some theory of the origin of the Universe." No doubt he was quite right in making this assertion, for the moment Theism ceases to be so characterised it becomes meaningless and loses its *raison d'être*. It is in this connection alone that it can be judged on its argumentative merits or demerits. For this very reason, however, Atheism, its antithesis, finds itself, as a philosophy, within the same groove, merely representing antagonistic views on this specific subject and this alone.

In the first part of Herbert Spencer's "First Principles" we find Atheism and Theism, as he conceives them, dealt with in an impartial and masterly way. All the arguments that may be deduced in support of either contention are clearly set forth, dissected, and analysed; and while showing the fallacies and the self-contradictory nature of the Theistic mode of reasoning, he proceeds to show that Atheism, as a reasonable hypothesis accounting for the origin of the Universe,

CANNOT BE ACCEPTED,

not on the ground of improbability, but of inconceivability.

Speaking of Theism as a theory of the Universe Herbert Spencer writes:

"To conceive existence through infinite past time implies the conception of infinite past time, which is an impossibility. To this let us add that even were self-existence conceivable it would not be an explanation of the Universe. No one will say that the existence of an object at the present moment is made easier to understand by the discovery that it existed an hour ago, or a day ago, or a year ago; and if its existence now is not made more comprehensible by knowledge of its existence during some previous finite period, then no knowledge of it during many such finite periods, even if we could extend them to an infinite period, would make it more comprehensible. Thus the Atheistic theory is not only absolutely unthinkable, but even were it thinkable, would not be a solution. The assertion that the Universe is self-existent does not really carry us a step beyond the cognition of its present existence, and so leaves us with a mere re-statement of the mystery."

Evidently the representative of the National Secularist Society was fully aware of this, for he was careful to point out that: "It is the

SOLE BUSINESS

of Atheism to analyse theistic arguments and to reject them if they prove unsatisfactory on account of the contradictions which they imply."

It will here be noticed that no alternative hypothesis is offered.

The above admission (from which there appears to be no escape) by the aforementioned speaker—probably the most capable man in the ranks of Atheism, explicitly excludes that philosophy from dealing with anything outside theistic controversies, and although it may be contended that Secularists do extend their activities in other directions, yet an impartial examination of the attitude they adopt and the propaganda they advocate, will show that as far as the real, vital, and fundamental issues are concerned, they are as indifferent or as reactionary as the Theists they oppose.

The economic and political aspects of society are either rigidly kept out of their discussions or are considered as of little or no importance in comparison with Secularism. Thus, in spite of his profession of determinism, the Secularist utterly fails to understand that religious ideas, like his own—like all ideas, in fact—are determined by

SOCIAL CONDITIONS,

and are therefore nothing but the results of such conditions.

What are those conditions, and how are they characterised?

These are questions which have no weight in the propaganda of the Secularist. To the Socialist the solution of these problems are of extreme importance, because it carries him to the very foundation of society. It breaks through the veil of idealism and enables him to see what lies behind the scenes. Such a solution affords the only explanation of the rise of and the course followed by ideas, and therefore of intellectual development. The conception of history, from the materialist point of view, is based upon the fact that before we can think and have ideas, we must have food, clothing, and shelter. How they necessities of life are produced and distributed determines in general what the people of an epoch shall think and shall strive for. In other words, ideas are subservient to economic forces. Further, these economic forces constitute the centre of gravitation of political activities; whether the manner in which the necessities of existence are produced and distributed shall be preserved or abolished constitutes the object of those who endeavour to capture political power.

Thus it is that legislative measures, enacted or in the process of being enacted, no matter what aspect they may present, always find their root-motive in

MATERIAL ADVANTAGE

and are subservient to the basic principle of modern society, viz., private property.

The Secularist or pseudo-materialist places the cart before the horse in true Christian fashion. He is much more interested in effects than in the causes that produce them. Although, as we have already seen, and on their own admission, Atheism can only stand as a negation of fallacious theistic ideas, the Secularists nevertheless regard it as a basic principle upon which they proceed to elaborate a certain plan of conduct and to derive from it their conceptions of "right" and "wrong," "justice" and "injustice," "good" and "evil," and various other forms of morality. They assert that man is the creature environment and circumstances, and yet they disregard the material factors which govern the society upon which they propose to operate! And with what results?

In the political arena, which is but a reflex of the circumstances in which we live, they are

HOPELESSLY DIVIDED.

One finds all shades of opinions among them—similar opinions, in fact, to those held by the very people they are out to attack. Such are the "refreshing fruits" of their so-called "philosophy"! Such are the people who parade their propaganda under the name of Materialism, while they attribute their unbeliefs to the triumph of Reason! They do not realise that such an expression is just as illogical and just as silly as any that ever flowed from the lips of a Christian. By this they imply that Reason is something transcending all laws, something beyond the scope of cause and effect, whereas, it being only a function of the brain acting in accordance with acquired experience, it cannot be conceived as triumphing over anything. One might as well talk about the wetness and ponderosity of water

triumphing over oxygen and hydrogen.

The fact is that the Secularist will not atone for his sins, so a scape-goat is to be found, and he finds it in the shape of Reason.

This simply tends to show that atheistic Secularists are people who have extricated themselves from one superstition to embrace another. As the Socialist Party points out in its pamphlet "Socialism and Religion": "The bourgeois-freethinker is, like the Christian, attributing miraculous powers to the

"FIGMENTS OF MEN'S BRAINS."

Now, in the face of this it is obvious that the attitude of Socialists toward Secularism must be identical with that they assume towards religion: it must be one of uncompromising antagonism. Neither of them explain the bed-rock basis of society; neither of them are concerned with the cause of increasing wealth in one section of the community at the cost of the perpetual and ever increasing poverty of the other section. These things are outside the sphere of activity of their respective philosophies.

While the Christian from his abysmal ignorance tells us that men must be born again before they may be able to change and improve society, the Secularist believes that social evils find their immediate cause in the existence and influence of religion! In his study of history he sees nothing but the evil deeds of priestcraft. Deeper than this he does not go and does not

WISH TO GO.

Thus his so-called philosophy is not unlike the Hindu theory of the earth resting on the back of an elephant, itself standing on a tortoise, and then—nothing except his triumphant Reason!

While the Theists and the Atheists are wasting their time and energy on things that do not matter, while academic discussion affords sport for their intelligence, there is a situation the gravity of which increases in intensity as each day passes. That situation is that the producers of the world are poor because they are robbed; they are robbed because the means of wealth production are private property owned by those who have political power. What matters it to the worker whether his master imposes upon him atheistic ethics or Christian morality? In either case is his misery more bearable? Is his insecurity lessened? Does his worry and care for the morrow leave more room for the peaceful enjoyment of life? Obviously no!

In the sphere of politics there is nothing to distinguish the bourgeois freethinker from the Christian. Both are to be found in the same camp, lending their efforts to the work of repressing and oppressing the working class. The J. M. Robertsons, the Greenwoods, the Haldanes and the Morleys are engaged in an unholy alliance with the Asquiths, the Isaacs and the Lloyd Georges. In France the Briands and the Clemenceaux are against the working class. In Portugal the Positivist legislators are

FILLING THE PRISONS

with exploited and discontented wage-slaves. Secularism, forsooth! Does any Secularist really think that the affairs of this world are run and managed by religion? Why, if by Secularism it is meant that the affairs of this world can be run without supernatural intervention, what else is there, what else can there be, but Secularism to govern now?

One thing reigns supreme: the grim class struggle.

The question as to how parasites shall continue to live and workers be exploited alone always the destinies of millions to day; and the simple and only question regarding the destinies of millions to-morrow is as to how parasites shall be swept out of existence and workers be free. This abolition of the parasites, this freeing of the workers, is the object of Socialism. The Socialist cares little for a world of ideas whereby workers are enslaved. When the workers come into their own they will have a

WORLD OF IDEAS

of their own. In the meantime, let it be noted that the Socialist looks upon Theism and Atheism, Secularism and Christianity, as so many red herrings drawn across his path, as so many Will-o'-the-wisps which disappear one by one as he travels towards his emancipation.

M. J. LE CART.

THE C.O.S. AND FISH.

THE question of the price of foodstuffs, we are informed, was dealt with by the Council of the Charity Organisation Society in a discussion raised by the reading of a paper by the Rev. J. C. Pringle. It turned upon the effect on prices of a large supply of fish and the necessity of keeping prices up by destroying part of the catch.

When a Socialist agitator makes it a count in the indictment of capitalism that a portion of the wealth produced must be destroyed to keep up the price of what is left, he is accused of exaggeration—or worse. Yet the reverend gentleman takes the acceptance of his statement for granted.

"At present, part of any great catch was thrown into the sea to prevent a fall in prices. It was too great a risk to sell it as manure. Yet it was admitted that each fall in price brought out an army of customers, who could not, or would not, pay a high price. Social workers ought surely not to rest until they had satisfied themselves that everything had been tried which might obviate the necessity of throwing fish food into the sea within sight of hungry people."

And there is no plainer or more direct condemnation of this ridiculous system called capitalism than this plain fact. Fish is most frequently the commodity dealt with in this way, but it is by no means the only one. Fruit and agricultural produce is similarly treated—fruit being allowed to drop and rot upon the ground when the market price is not high enough to pay for picking, packing, and marketing. And while the products of the land are so treated, we have alleged democratic agitators to get back to the land, and prominent statesmen drawing lurid word-pictures of the town-dwellers scrambling for small holdings, and bits of dirt generally.

But while fruit is very nice in season, and dropped fruit may be tolerated sometimes, it cannot be accepted as a staple article of diet all the year round. The effect produced on the market by the multiplication of fruit growers, what time fruit won't pay for marketing, may be imagined but cannot be described.

To return to our mutons—or our fish—the effect of this on the fish market would be similar.

"Applied science was coming to the aid of the fisheries, and some plaice recently transferred to the Dogger Bank multiplied several times as fast as they did in the place they came from. When it came to marketing it was difficult to believe that human ingenuity could not devise a means of giving the public the benefit of great catches without injury to the business people to whom the public owes it that it had fish at all."

The difficulty is not that there is a shortage of fish, but that there is too much fish. Why, then, take the plaice from one place and place it in another place to make it quicker? It is only for manure or to be thrown into the sea at the finish. Human ingenuity within the limits of capitalism cannot devise a means of selling fish or anything else at a profit at a price that eliminates profit. And we are grateful to learn that it is to the business people we owe our supply of fish. The business people are, presumably, the manipulators of the market, the owners of the fleets, and the shopkeepers—the people who decide how much to market, how much to use for manure, and how much to put back in the sea. We should have thought in our simplicity, not belonging to the C.O.S., that we were indebted to the men who caught it—the men who, at great risk of life and limb, issue from every nook and cranny along the coast-line to catch fish—fish being a food, and men having been fishermen ever since they shed the simian tail and came down out of tree-tops.

The report of the discussion at the Council of the C.O.S. in the "Daily Telegraph" does not tell the conclusion that body came to on what it calls "a vexed question." The disputants took two sides, one claiming that articles were sold cheaper to poor people, the other claiming that there was no selling at lower prices except to get rid of surplus stocks. It would seem in the face of it the latter must be more correct or there would be no necessity to destroy the surplus. There is no doubt plenty of demand—hungry

stomach demand—for fish, fruit, and other foods; but there is no "effective" demand—no £ s. d. demand—beyond a certain limit. That limit is fixed by wages.

There is an argument that wages are rather to be measured by the use that is made of them than by their actual quantity. This argument reaches its zenith with the teetotaler who would say that if you spent nothing on beer you would be able to eat all the fish and none would have to be thrown away. Of course, that overlooks those who merely eat fish—well salted—as a necessary preparation for preventing any beer being thrown into the sea! But the argument of the teetotaler shifts the question without solving it.

The argument has another phase, one shown during the discussion of the recent budget. The extract belongs to Mr. Miste-man, presumably, but it has been cut out without the introduction being preserved. As it was received with great gusto and Ministerial cheers, it will not be repudiated:

"COMMUNITY'S EXTRAVAGANCE."

"He agreed that the evidence of the Budget provided facts for seriousness as well as satisfaction. There was evidence of amazing extravagance in all classes of the community. There was little evidence of laying up or even of anticipation of bad times that might succeed good times."

All we can say about it is that, if the argument is taken too seriously, we shall have the C.O.S. discussing "vexed questions" affecting a great number of industries, and the working class will be in the position of the unfortunate donkey who, by a process of elimination, was to be reduced to one cat a day, and who, having been successfully got down within sight of the desired end, disappointed everyone concerned by inadvertently deceasing.

Obviously, when fish is produced for the feeding of the community, the contradiction of having hungry stomachs clamouring for food on the one side, and the business people to whom we are alleged to owe the fish we get throwing it away on the other, will be impossible. If production for a capitalist market necessitates such a state of affairs, so much the worse for capitalism. It is, perhaps, too much to expect the C.O.S. and its "social workers" to view "throwing fine food into the sea within sight of hungry people" as a necessary and inevitable result of capitalist production, to be remedied only by changing the entire method and producing fish—as everything else—for the enjoyment and the use of the community organised into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

D. K.

LEICESTER—AND AFTER.

LAST month we dealt briefly with the position occasioned by the bye election at Leicester, and pointed out to the workers generally, and to the workers of Leicester in particular, the necessity for understanding their class position in society. How necessary this is has been demonstrated by the fact that a very large number of workers voted for the Liberal candidate, believing that their interests would be best looked after by the Liberal Party, and that if they abstained from voting it might be taken as "a graceless disregard of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's position."

The refusal of the National Executive of the Labour Party to endorse the candidature of the Leicester Labour Party's candidate can only be taken as evidence of their adoption of the "one-and-one principle."

The truth of our contention that the Labour Party is not independent and is mainly concerned in keeping the Liberal Party in office is amply confirmed in three recent issues of the "Labour Leader." (It is worth while to remember in this connection that it was the Liberal Government who passed the Payment of Members Bill, and, of course, £400 a year is worthy of serious consideration.)

Since the declaration of the poll we have been treated in the capitalist daily Press, and especially in the "Weekly Journal of Socialism, Trade Unionism, and Politics," to yards of explanation from the official Labour Party.

The "Labour Leader" (July 13) says: "We

all want a clearer manifestation of our independence. We all want a more vigorous denunciation of the Government's tyranny at home and abroad." A letter from the secretary of the Bermondsey branch of the I.L.P. appears in the same issue, in which he states, among other things, that "the Leicester business has given us a staggering blow in Bermondsey. Our members are broken and crushed. They feel they can no longer face the enemy, as they know that the criticisms levied against the 'independence' of the Labour Party are justified after all, and that they can no longer honestly continue to repudiate the allegations. They are sick and tired of 'explaining' and 'apologising' for the Party, and the culminating business of Leicester can neither be explained nor apologised for. It can only be condemned."

In another issue of the "Labour Leader" we find a special article by Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, in which he tells us: "Our Parliamentary policy is exactly that which the most revolutionary Socialist Party would adopt if it had 40 members in the House of Commons in the year of grace 1913."

This is, indeed, nonsense. When the workers become class-conscious they will reject the Labour Party for the spurious body of rogues and fools that it is. Understanding what they want, and having sent 40 members of "the most revolutionary Socialist Party" to the House of Commons, it is certain these representatives would have to carry out the instructions of the workers who had sent them there. Knowing that they were sent with specific instructions they could not play a two-handed game, and we should not witness that sorry spectacle which the Labour Party has treated us to—a "revolutionary" party voting against their own amendments in order to save the Government.

Last year there were several bye elections, and as a result of three cornered contests the Conservative candidates in some instances managed to secure the seats. This caused much discomfort amongst the Liberal and Labour Parties.

Why the workers should be perturbed at the loss of Liberal seats the present writer cannot understand. Are not the Liberal Party ever ready to bring out the armed forces to maim and murder the workers with as little compunction as the Tory Party? Belfast, Llanelli, Tonypandy prove that they are. Yet this is the brutal party that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is prepared to "bargain" with. The following from "Reynolds's Newspaper" (6.10.12) is pretty significant:—

"Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in a speech on Wednesday last, stated that there would be no more three-cornered contests if the Liberal Party would recognise the right of the Labour Party to 80 members."

"This would seem to indicate the readiness for a 'deal' on the part of the latter in view of the next election" is an editorial comment.

Independence, forsooth! In the "Labour Leader" of July 17 appears an article by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald under the heading: "What is Independence?" He says that his critics are "nothing more than anti-Liberal," and asks: "If Lord Selborne had been in South Africa instead of Lord Gladstone what would have been the difference?"

What this has to do with the "independence" of the Labour Party it is difficult to understand. The reference to Gladstone and Selborne is, of course, an admission of the truth of our contention that the Liberal and Tory parties are really one party, who are only concerned with the robbery of the working class. But if the working class are to derive any comfort from the fact that things would have been no different on the Rand had Lord Selborne been there instead of the Liberal butcher, they should find balm in the reflection that the miners would have been just as ruthlessly murdered had Mr. Macdonald been there instead of either.

A recently joined member of the I.L.P. said publicly: "After what you have done about Leicester, it seems to me that I might just as well have stayed in the Liberal Party for all the good we are doing" ("Labour Leader," July 17.) Quite so.

Fellow workers, the only organisation worthy of your serious consideration is the Socialist Party of Great Britain, because it is the only party standing for Socialism.

S. W. T.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.		10th.	17th.	24th.	31st.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates	11.30	C. Gatter	C. Baggett	J. Roe	C. Elliott
" Prince's Head	7.30	A. Barker	H. Joy	J. Roe	J. Fitzgerald
Clapham Common	3.30	A. Kohn	H. Joy	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30	A. Jacobs	J. G. Stone	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
Finsbury Park	6.0	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30	A. Timms	A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	T. W. Allen
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	J. Le Carte	A. Bays
Ilford (station)	7.30	H. King	J. Fitzgerald	A. Leslie	A. Kohn
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	F. J. Rourke	J. Brown	C. Parker	A. Timms
" "	7.30	A. L. Cox	A. Bays	J. Brown	J. G. Stone
Parliament Hill	11.30	A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	T. W. Allen	B. Seach
Peckham Triangle	7.30	C. Elliott	C. Gatter	J. G. Stone	B. Young
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	A. Barker
Stoke Newington, Railway Rd., Dalston	12.0	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	B. Seach	H. Cooper
Tooting Broadway	11.30	H. Joy	S. Blake	C. Elliott	E. Lake
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30	T. W. Allen	A. Barker	C. Baggett	A. Gatter
" "	11.30	C. Baggett	H. Cooper	W. Lewington	F. J. Rourke
Walham Green Church	7.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn	7.30	E. Lake	E. Fairbrother	S. Blake	J. Roe
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30	A. Bays	A. Jacobs	B. Young	A. Hoskyns
Watford Market Place	7.30	W. Lewington	H. King	J. Ward	J. Brown
" "	7.30	J. G. Stone	F. J. Rourke	W. Lewington	A. Jacobs
" "	7.30	H. Joy	A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald	C. Baggett

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's 8.30.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 83 Britannia-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.
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ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.
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SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec. 94 Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).
TOTTENHAM.—G. P. Plummer, Sec., 45 Gloucester Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets Mondays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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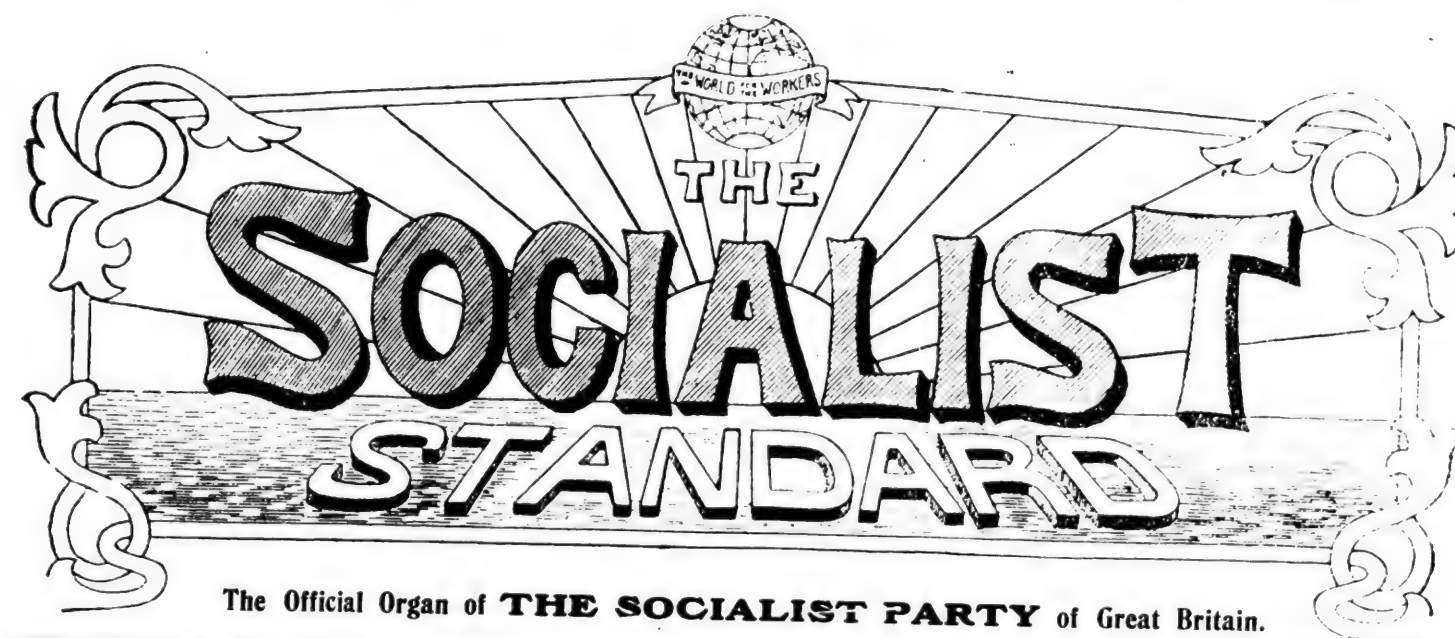
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

A QUEER FAITH.

THE present writer has recently been puzzling his poor brains over a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal for a Positive Science of Government." If one may judge by the obvious sincerity of the author, the government is one before which all else pales. It alone affords the true solution of the greater problems of the day, and all social and political problems are wrongly treated and their discussion can merely end in words, because of their lack of positive principles.

The problems referred to are:—Votes for Women and Men; Reconstitution of Political Parties; Armaments and War; High Cost of Living.

The identity of the writer is indicated only by the name "Umano," which looks like a non-de-plume intended to express the humanitarian proclivities of its owner. He is one of those foreigners, he tells us on the last page, who feel they owe to this land a great part of their own liberty of thought and dignity of life.

I was curious to know what a Positive Science of Government could be, and after reading the pamphlet through carefully I have by no means satisfied my curiosity. It may be due to my materialistic prejudices, or my *a priori* notions. Whatever positive government is we are assured that "progress in this science of government would have suppressed the barbarity of selfishness, would have bettered human conditions, and caused those miseries to disappear."

Now, taking government as necessarily meaning the government or control of men by other men, it must ever be that the interests of the governors cannot be identical with those of the governed. When they become identical government ceases. In the historic phrase of Engels—the government of men gives place to the administration of things.

No matter how scientific government may be the selfishness and the social conditions will remain, being formed by quite other factors than the ideas or the form of government.

"It would have multiplied men of genius and produced more progress in the above sciences." The production of geniuses is a matter far too difficult to adjudicate upon in our present state of knowledge, and can only pass as a pious belief of the author's, probably fathered by the wish.

"The science of Government is the one that alone remains empirical amidst all the sciences which have become even more positive." The distinction here drawn between empirical and positive science is itself unscientific. The empirical is a necessity to the most positive science, and is not an incompatible form of that science. "The science of government still remains on the level of alchemy and astrology," and we are enjoined, after being converted to a positive science of government, to do for empirical government what chemistry and astronomy did for

alchemy and astrology.

But astrology is not empirical and alchemy is not empirical. These ideas rest, not on experience and experiment, but on assumption. Astronomy is built necessarily on the empirical observation of phenomena, and consists of the laws derived from an investigation into the causes producing the phenomena so empirically observed. It becomes positive as those laws can be verified by further observation and experiment. So with this alleged science of government. To be scientific it must be built upon a science of sociology, which is truly the most backward of sciences.

But is this not due to the fact that men cannot take the same detached and disinterested point of view on social and sociological matters as they can on physical or biological questions? Even in biology the innate conceit of men hampered the due placing of mankind in that place in nature plainly indicated by science, showing how, even in that matter, the dissociation of the individual mind from the supposed interests of his kind operated—it may be unconsciously. And if that be so in biology, how much more so will it be in sociology. The sarcastic remark is attributed to Hobbes that even the axioms of geometry would be disputed if men's passions were implicated in them.

Throughout the "Appeal" there runs the philosophy of the Radical of an earlier day—the idea that society grows upon and is shaped by the governmental and parliamentary conditions imposed upon it. It is this idea that lies behind the statements quoted above: that selfishness and misery would disappear and geniuses appear, with a scientific form of government. This idea is opposed to the Positivism of Comte.

As evidence of the unscientific nature of government to-day is quoted the contradictory meanings ascribed to such terms as *right, duty, law, justice, liberty, force*, etc. But this is due to the antagonisms between ruler and ruled and the economic interests they represent. He says that in the Portuguese "Revolution" the *force of the military* was used by the Republicans in opposition to *oaths of allegiance* and to *laws*, and would be similarly used by the Monarchists if they saw the opportunity of successfully bringing off a counter revolution. He says further: "Something similar is happening as regards Socialism. Because Socialists expect some day to be able to take away by *force and justice* the wealth of the capitalists." And so on.

The fact is that the final arbiter is not an abstract idea of justice or of right, but force and might. It may be to some extent the force of argument and the might of numbers, but its justice and legality will be decided by the dominant majority.

Umano comes to the conclusion that this great conspiracy of the rulers, with the help of

the school and the prison, impressed its views upon the governed to prevent them glimpsing a positive science of government. The franchise was granted in a distorted form, along with an idea of Public Right (strictly in accordance with the rulers' point of view) to give some sort of appearance to the continuance of so debased a form of government. "And yet, among the governed, rebellious spirits have not been lacking. . . . The small amount of civilisation we possess to-day, along with liberty of speech, we owe to them."

The criticisms of the "ancient and false conceptions of government" arising from the winning of liberty of speech, did not succeed in clearing them all away. This our author attributes to the "chief Socialists." These misguided individuals "had too much scholastic culture: even they were too much infected by the ideas of Public Right, and, on the other hand, they had too great a need for organisation and for taking their place as a political party in opposition to conservative repression. . . . So they turned all their new mentality to the study of economic problems—which are a very important basis, but secondary, not primary, in the science of government—and became doctrinaires of historic materialism."

The Socialists having, to the disgust of Umano, gone off from positive principles of government on an economic side line, "one hope for the positive science of government remained—the hope in the women." Unfortunately for our author and his positive science, they have gone astray also. There being no hopes left—not even a forlorn one in the children—he laboriously points how wrong the women are in basing their arguments for the franchise on the rotten principles that vitiate government and parliamentarism to-day, and exhorts them in a long speech to base their demands on positive principles of government. What these are apparently remains to be decided, for the "Appeal" finishes with the announcement that a conference for discussing and formulating Positive Principles of Government is to be held later.

I have already pointed out that Umano's ideas of Positivism are somewhat more akin to the ancient and obsolete school of philosophical Radicalism than to the Positivism of Comte. So, too, is it as far as the poles asunder from the materialist conception of history which forms the basis of Socialist politics. Comte, in explaining Positivism, made it perfectly clear that government was not the arbiter of society in the way Umano conceives. He expressly says: "It is perfectly impossible to establish any stable and general notion on politics, whilst human society is regarded as moving without free will of its own, under the arbitrary impulsion of the legislator." And again: "Authority results from agreement, not agreement from authority."

While, therefore, Comte's Positivism predicates to society a free will apart from government, Umano's "Positivism" places the will of society in the government apart from society. While Umano gives to authority the power to effect agreement through the school and the prison, Comte points out the dependence of authority upon agreement, upon that social sanction which as we have repeatedly argued against our anarchistic opponents gave birth to the vote. The agreement upon which social authority rests is as old, in one form or another, as society itself. The Council of War of the most distant time, held by the warriors of the tribe, had within it the germ of the analogous councils of peace called maybe to depute the necessary authority to the chief to perform some duty on behalf of the community. The same social sanction is glimpsed in every phase of society, the commoners' emancipation being the subject of comparatively recent history. But the agreement of the property holders of society has always had to be obtained before the representatives of society could act.

The government, therefore, has always been the political expression of the ruling class, whose economic interests would be served in opposition to those of their dependents. History becomes in this view a history of class struggles, and today, the working class has to sink all differences on all fields of thought or action, and concentrate for its emancipation in this last social struggle on the basis of its class interests. In political possession stand the heirs of ages of domination, the final representatives of property holding, the political consolidation of Crown, lords and masters; on our side stand the working class, the dispossessed, exploited proletariat. It is our side which has to sanction the maintenance of capitalist society, and our side does so every time of asking. Will Umano's "Appeal" help to enlighten them as to the simple facts of the case? If not it serves the purpose of the other side and must be condemned as useless and harmful so far as the workers are concerned, however entertaining and diverting it may be for the masters.

Science must always be of use to the Socialist, because science is knowledge and knowledge is the foundation of Socialism. But we are not concerned in being governed by scientific principles according to St. Umano, or by business principles according to St. Horatio Bottomley, or by anybody else's principles, because they will show the cloven hoof of capitalism at every turn. But we are concerned to abolish government altogether, and substitute that economic administration of things that alone can abolish capitalism's social problem when it abolishes capitalism, and give political expression to the interests of the working class.

The first and simplest of those interests will be to enjoy the fruits of their labour, the produce of their associated industry, the control of their own lives, and so lay a healthy foundation for a happy, because free, existence. D. K.

HIGHER EFFICIENCY.

WHAT IT MEANS TO THE WORKERS.

Mr. Chiozza Money, as a statistician, easily holds first place in this country. But, like many others who have contributed generously to the totality of scientific knowledge, he frequently misses the real significance of his own figures, or becomes confused when he tries to handle statistics for the purpose of abstract reasoning. The very simplicity of actual solutions is often the cause of his overlooking them.

"How is it that machinery does not conquer toil?" he asks. "Why, then, arises the grave and significant question, has invention failed to reduce arduous toil? Why is it that so many people are condemned to work long hours at fatiguing operations?" Mr. Money answers his own questions satisfactorily to himself in the following sentence: "The explanation is that an enormous proportion of our population is either not at work or working wastefully."

He utterly fails to see that if all these were at work producing for the market on the most economic lines, the intense competition of to-day would develop into the wildest anarchy. The simple answer to Mr. Money's question over-

looked by him is that machinery, instead of being socially owned, is the property of private individuals, who comprise a class owning, not only the machinery, but all the means of life. The question of the ownership of the machine—obviously the most important factor—does not appear at all in Mr. Money's explanation.

In a series of articles published in the "Daily Chronicle," Mr. Money successfully argues that higher wages induce greater efficiency, invention, and the application of more scientific methods. Far from denying that this increases the number of unemployed, he claims it as the natural result, and after demonstrating by evidence that the unemployed army grows with the increase of efficiency, he uses his conclusions as convincing reasons for the enactment of a minimum wage in agriculture. "A high wage is the father of invention," says Mr. Money, and according to his own statement, invention increases unemployment.

More than once have we pointed out this effect. Higher wages, whether obtained by legal enactment or by trade union action, hasten the introduction of labour saving devices of all kinds. Repeated strikes, or even the threats of strikes, will bring about the same result. A twofold advantage is gained by the employer when he introduces new methods: he saves in the number of his employees, and he sets up greater competition amongst them, which enables him to exact greater efficiency.

It is, therefore, with the "Curse of Claudian" upon his head that Mr. Money advocates higher wages for agricultural workers; like Claudian, too, he knows beforehand what the sequel to his good intentions will be. He says: "It will not be a growing industry, because each successful application of science will reduce the number of persons required to grow a given quantity of food, and as the need for food and organic materials is strictly limited, the proportion of men required to grow produce must decline."

That is true of any industry that can be mentioned; why, then, does Mr. Money go on to say: "That, of course, is a good thing for mankind, and not a bad thing, since the fewer men required for one industry the more are set free for other industries, and the call for the product of other industries is, of course, without practical limit."

The world's market, in a given period, is the limit in demand for the products of every industry, and therefore determines the number of workers to be employed on the industrial field. "Successful applications of science" have already reduced the number of workers required in nearly every industry, to a much greater extent than in agriculture, in this country. Those who are therefore displaced, either by scientific improvements or greater efficiency, actually swell the general army of unemployed. Every industry is being scientifically treated and greater efficiency is being exacted. Every industry is limited by the demand for its products. All-round efficiency, consequently, means increase of unemployment all round.

Let there be no mistake as to the meaning of greater efficiency. Unless the return in products or service for the same bill of wages has increased, there is no increase in efficiency; while if the return is greater, by that much is it a pure gain to the capitalist.

Higher efficiency means greater concentration and effort on the part of the workers, and as competition amongst them increases by virtue of the growing army of unemployed, wages for those who are employed remain stationary or fall. Greater efficiency, therefore, means, for the working class—more work, less wages. Co-partnership and profit-sharing illustrate and prove this truth.

Increased efficiency can only be "good for mankind" when the wealth that is produced is socially owned; for the working class are in the same position as bees that produce in the summer more honey than they require, and yet die in swarms during the winter because they have been robbed. Just as the bees have learned to economise wax by substituting hexagonal for circular cells and are robbed of the results of their highly developed instinct, so the working class have been robbed of the results of their more intelligent application of labour to the production of wealth, and will continue to be robbed while their labour-power is stamped as merchandise.

The greater efficiency of the working class under capitalism means greater competition and poverty. The cry of the capitalist for increased efficiency is consequently only the expression of his greed, for what the worker loses in wages his employer gains in profits. To pretend that the condition of the working class improves with greater efficiency is therefore sheer humbug.

The requirements of the capitalist class with regard to labour-power are various. The highest forms of labour power can only be produced by the expenditure of a greater amount of labour-time—by the consumption of the products of previously expended labour-power—hence its higher price. Supply and demand will play the deuce with the price of any commodity, under certain conditions, and when industrial correspondence schools and "commercial colleges" promise their students good jobs on the termination of their course, the market becomes flooded, and salaries that used to be fat fall by easy stages until they are indistinguishable in amount from wages.

Commercial education means, not higher, but lower salaries. To-day the labour of two clerks—more efficient clerks at that—can be bought for the same price as one a generation or so ago. This has been achieved by the simple process of teaching shorthand, book-keeping, etc. at evening classes and polytechnics, and the masters have been supplied with all the labour of that kind they require for the double purpose of keeping their accounts and keeping down their wages bill.

The efforts that are being made in certain quarters to compel every child to attend evening classes after leaving the elementary school, are not intended to benefit these young people, but only to place at the disposal of the masters more efficient workers, for if the working class are to receive only, on the average, just sufficient to enable them to exist, it is better for them to remain inefficient, because the price of labour-power is more firmly fixed at the cost of living. The lower the quality of that labour-power, the better the bargain from the working-class standpoint.

All the time and energy spent by members of the working class in increasing their efficiency is a free gift of labour time to the capitalist class. All the time that is spent at industrial correspondence schools, commercial colleges, and evening classes is so many hours added to the daily toil of the working class. These hours of added labour, of course, fall on those who have imbibed freely at the fountain of capitalist promise. The lure is the good jobs the plums sprinkled here and there, rare as oases in the capitalist desert of poverty, and magnified and multiplied in every capitalist publication.

So Mr. Money's claim that greater efficiency or better organisation of work is good for mankind, under capitalism, unsupported as it is by evidence or reason, falls to the ground, and when he says: "The truth is that if invention went no further, mankind now possesses the means of wealth," he himself indicts the capitalist system, with its one third of the population below the poverty line.

What really stands in the way of either "better organisation of work" or a "more equitable distribution of wealth," is the class ownership of the means of life and the merchandise character of human labour power. Until these conditions are removed increased production will only spell glut and depression, with ever-present working class poverty. F. F.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Call" (New York).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

EXIT HELL-FIRE.

"The work of the nineteenth century in the area of religious thought has, on the whole, been destructive. Ideas that had lived long because they had been protected from challenge have crumbled under the touch of modern thought. . . . The development of modern science has profoundly affected theological thought. First in astronomy, then in geology, and finally in biology and physics, the passionate desire to understand has been abundantly rewarded. But an irrational theology cannot exist side by side with a rational conception of nature, except at the cost of a disastrous dualism."

In the above words Canon J. H. B. Masterman finally and completely throws over the fantastic superstitions that have been current for centuries with regard to our future life. Evangelists and salvation fanatics may cry, "hands off the people's religion!" but Canon Masterman and the theologians have agreed, in the columns of a capitalist daily newspaper, that the people's religion must be modified. Who said the Socialist would destroy religion? The mummings from Dean's Yard are doing that before the very eyes of their congregations. For when the claim of revelation has gone, and when heaven and hell no longer exist in the minds of the ignorant, the doctrines and beliefs that replace them are so obviously man-made, so plainly the creations of our day and generation, that even those devoid of even a superficial knowledge of science should, if possessed of the power of reasoning at all, be able to see that the new beliefs and prophecies are pure inventions.

Entire agreement, however, does not reign in the camp of the experts. Some find their congregations sufficiently gullible to swallow hell-fire as crude as Milton presented it; others need to have it drawn milder. Consequently there is division, and we find the Rev. Sylvester Horne saying: "If a preacher to-day is fearless he is bound to preach moral discipline and punishment in a form which is more searching and powerful to the conscience than any mere materialistic punishment could be"; while Canon Horsley gives support to the contention of the Rev. Chas. Brown and Silas Hocking, that no ministers or people of intelligence any longer believe in a material hell, he still advises that something of the kind should be taught. He says: "While vice exists, and not merely sin; while hedonism perhaps increases; the time is not when warnings are unneeded and the prophets should only prophesy smooth things."

In other words, although intelligent people no longer believe in eternal punishment, because there is no evidence for such a belief, it should still be taught to those who can be imposed upon—because it may keep them honest when the man in blue is absent.

The conscience of the worker—quite distinct from the Nonconformist conscience, by the way, which is only political—must be a small voice within his mind that respects the ethics for the wage-slave, as imposed by capitalism. Some of the writers in the "Daily News," of lesser calibre than the deans and canons, quite boldly declare that without hell-fire all restraint on the minds of the desperate would be gone, just when it was more than ever necessary. Scotland Yard, with all its records, police supervision, finger-prints, and photographs, is not powerful enough to cope with the desperate characters engendered by capitalist society. Penal servitude frightens some. Nonconformists—a working class infliction—would keep the fires of hell burning eternally before the imagination of their helpless victims. They claim that if the fear of hell is no longer instilled, crime will assuredly increase.

Capitalism breeds the criminal: the only question for the capitalist is how to secure his property from him. The theologian makes it his question too, because he comes in for a share of the larger plunder—the results of the robbery of the working class.

With the development of capitalism the number of unemployed increases with great rapidity. Not only so, but the low wages and rotten conditions imposed upon the workers grow more irksome and repulsive almost daily; hence the increase of so-called crime, over ninety per

cent. of which is directed against property.

Buckle, in his "History of Civilisation," proves from statistics that a social system that changes only slightly from year to year reproduces faithfully each year almost the same crop of deaths from starvation, suicides, lunatics, and criminals. When the "struggle for existence" becomes more intense among the working class, there is a corresponding increase in these cases, proving, conclusively that economic conditions are responsible for them.

When this question is honestly probed, as has been so frequently done in the columns of the "SS," we find that poverty is entirely due to the fact that the working class are robbed of the wealth they produce. The self-appointed prophets share this knowledge with us, but in consideration of their salaries they say in effect: continue the robbery; we will do our best to frighten the robbed with a tale of some sort.

Some, like Dr. Garvie, for instance, expose their knowledge of the truth by their guarded language. He speaks of "what we may believe" or "what it is reasonable to believe," thereby admitting lack of evidence to prove anything, unlike the Dean of St. Pauls, and sixteen other specialists who openly confess that they know nothing about it, as there have been no definite revelations as to a future life.

The question still faces the theologian how to frighten or beguile the working class into docility. Some can be enjoined by the pious humbug that "virtue brings its own reward," while others, guileless and simple imbeciles that they are, say, with an assumption of cheerfulness and a heavenly expression that has a world of meaning say: "This life is what we ourselves make it—heaven or hell."

This, we are told, is the rationalist view. There is nothing rational in it. The capitalist who has nothing else to think about but how to secure heavenly conditions for himself, and who has funkys and white slaves to help him, may find it easy enough to make his heaven here. The average worker's mind, however, is already in a chaotic state of worry and anxiety as the result of the struggle to live. The factory bell and the slum; the overseer and the landlord; low wages and rising prices, leave him no time for psychological gymnastics.

The capitalist has no need to lift his mind out of his environment to find contentment. The worker's mind is only released from his environment when he sleeps and dreams—and his dreams, they are usually nightmares, parodies of his waking hours, and not far removed, in truth, from very hell fire itself. F. F.

"HOW LONG, O LORD, HOW LONG!"

SEEING the number of strikes and lockouts that have taken place during the past few years, coupled with the increased cost of living and the tendency of employment to become more casual, members of the working class might well ask themselves the above question. How long are they going to be nothing but hewers of wood and drawers of water for another class—content to receive as their portion the shoddiest of clothing, rabbit-hutch accommodation for shelter, and highly adulterated food stuffs?

Can even the most simple-minded worker imagine members of the master class partaking of the newly discovered butter substitute, "nut margarine," commonly called "overweight" when they refresh themselves with their afternoon tea? No, of course not! The non-producers take care that they have none of these things.

A short while ago a report was issued by the Bethnal Green Borough Council, stating how the only useful members of society were housed, and a few extracts are here appended:

"(A) Man, wife, and four children. Man a painter; income 24s. per week, but not regular. Rent 6s. 6d., two rooms; all sleep in one room."
"(B) Man, wife, and five children, three of adult age. Occupy one room and earn a precarious living by selling papers in the street. Rent 5s. 6d."

"E. Man, wife, and five children, one over 12. Occupy two back rooms at 5s. 6d. per week. Man a labourer in cabinetmaker's workshop. Casual worker only; earns 4d. per hour when at work."

The list could be extended, but this is enough for the purpose. A report of the Olympia horse show ("Daily News," June 17th, 1912) informs us how differently the master class look after their animals:

"Upwards of 900 horses are taking part in the show, and the stabling of these has presented some problems. For Mr. Vanderbilt's coaching team a quartette of sumptuous boxes, with plushette curtains, silver name plates on each door, and a harness room in the centre with leaded lights has been provided. More imposing still are the stables erected for the accommodation of the 30 horses given as a birthday present to little Miss Mona Dunn, the 9 year old daughter of a Canadian millionaire. Valuable carved oak, which would excite the envy of a collector of the antique, has been used for the fronts of the long avenue of stalls, which is approached through a beautiful little garden and the courtyard of an old inn."

The Medical Officer of Health for Finsbury recently issued his annual return, which has been described as a "tragedy of poverty, overcrowding, and ignorance." We are told that in this Christian land:

"Into two houses in one district there is crowded the population of an English hamlet. Sixty-six people are herded together in ten rooms. Of human rookeries similar to these 141 came under the notice of the authorities during the year. Wives are compelled to work to maintain the home, and, according to Dr. A. E. Thomas, the Medical Officer, 'in general it may be said that owing to the father's unemployment, to the casual nature of his employment, or owing to the small wages of the family, the mother has to resume work . . . in order to obtain nourishment for herself and the others. Even so, when they return to work, mothers may still be found who come home at meal times to breast feed their babies. Many of them are themselves underfed, ill, consumptive, . . . and for the mothers, brave and enduring, the struggle is a hard and severe one. The consequences to the baby are disastrous. It becomes ill, wastes, and eventually succumbs.'"

Here is food for reflection. While the prostitute capitalist Press are mouthing about the continued "trade boom" and repeating month after month the fact that "our" exports and imports are increasing by leaps and bounds, the workers are languishing in ever increasing poverty. Well might they ask how the boom in trade affects them. Are they enabled to go shooting on the moors? Can they avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by modern science, and pay flying visits to the beauty spots of the world?

No, these things are not for those of the wage-slave class. It is common knowledge that in thousands of cases even men in regular work are so poor that when they take their "annual outing" they are obliged to start paying into a fund for about three months before the day appointed, to provide the wherewithal for a few hours recreation.

To conclude, all members of the working class who desire a happy human life should organise with us for the overthrow of the present system of society—which means poverty and privation for the toilers and ease and luxury for the shirkers—and the establishment of a sane system in which all things produced will be for those who produce them. S. W. T.

"SOCIALISM versus TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.E.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free 11d

"SHOULD SOCIALISTS AFFILIATE WITH THE LABOUR PARTY?"

A DEBATE upon the above subject was held at the King and Queen Assembly Rooms at Brighton on 25th July.

A local celebrity, Mr. Winchester, took the chair, and introduced what he called "the two gladiators" to the audience. Mr. J. Ingham (I.L.P.) took the affirmative, and Mr. J. Fitzgerald (S.P.G.B.) the negative.

In opening the debate MR. INGHAM said the subject was not what was Socialism, nor even whether the legislation supported by the Labour Party leads to Socialism, but whether Socialists should affiliate with that party with all its shortcomings.

For the sake of clearness, the speaker went on to say, it would be as well to state that Socialism implied three changes—economic change, political change, and mental change. That was the theory or aspiration of Socialism. In practice it meant the revolt of the masses; but this revolt must have power behind it, and this power was both economic and political.

The power behind the vote was the power of nomination, which the working class have only had in late years.

As far as the capitalist class were concerned the S.P.G.B. or I.L.P. or B.S.P. didn't matter much, and the only menace to the rulers in society today were the Labour Party. They were demanding the right to manage affairs for themselves. It might be true that they were not doing this in the best way from the standpoint of the Socialist, and he did not uphold the part played by the Labour Party in the House of Commons, but they represented the social consciousness of the trade unions, who laid down the policy of the party.

The Labour Party consisted of the I.L.P. and the Fabians—who formed the intellectual Socialist wing—and the mass of the organised workers. In all historic movements the intellectuality followed, it did not lead, the movement.

The question the Socialist had to face was, should he help the movement of the organised workers—the Labour Party—by being inside, or should he play the part of the so-called intellectual and stand outside on a mountain criticising and carping at their actions. Despite all their shilly-shallying and support of the Government the Socialist should be inside, doing his best to help it and to help it to take the right road.

The Revolution would be carried out by the workers becoming class-conscious and taking hold of political power to overthrow their rulers. In this connection he would point out that there had never been a traitor in the House of Commons. Every member there represented the views of those who sent him there. No member of the Labour Party could represent others than those who sent him to Parliament.

Intellectual Socialists should be inside of the Labour Party, guiding it by getting hold of the reins for that purpose. (Bell rang.)

MR. FITZGERALD said one fault he had to find with his opponent's definition of Socialism was the order in which the changes were placed. Before the working class could carry through the political change having for its object the change in the ownership of the means of life, there would have to be a change in their understanding of the situation and a determination to alter it. Hence the mental change must precede the political and economic changes involved in the establishment of Socialism.

His opponent had said that the revolt must have power behind it. Exactly. But what power? What must it consist of? To answer the question it would be necessary to examine the power in the hands of, and used by, the present rulers. The working class to-day were in want and misery because they had no access to the means of life except by permission of the master class. How did the master class retain their possession of those things? Leaving out the various secondary agencies, the essential force came to the front when any big dispute occurred, as a railway strike, a miners' or a transport strike. Then the army and navy and the judicial machinery were used, rapidly and ruthlessly, against the workers.

These forces received their instructions from

the War Office, Naval Office, Home Office, etc., but the officials in the departments were appointed by the House of Commons, and this was done without any reference to the House of Lords, showing the character of the Labour Party's campaign against that institution.

Hence the capitalists must have control of Parliament for the purpose of using the armed forces for the preservation of their property. To get this control they must be voted into Parliament.

The people possessing the majority of the votes were the members of the working class. Hence the political promises, the election red herrings, and the buying of the "leaders" of the working class when elections were on. The capitalists clearly saw the importance of political power, and spent millions to obtain it.

Where did the Labour Party stand in this connection? They acted as decoy ducks to the capitalist class. From their first formation to the present day they had refused to lay down any principles or policy in the interest of the working class. The Socialist Party's Manifesto gave numerous instances and proofs of their treachery, but one or two cases having a particular bearing on his opponent's statement would be useful.

In 1906 a group of nearly 40 "Labour" leaders were returned to Parliament with the help of the Liberal Party. So much were they really part of the Liberal party that when, a little later, a bye election took place at Leicester, the Labour Party dared not contest the second seat. The same thing occurred at Newcastle, but it was left for the January 1910 general election to completely pull the veil away. A short time previously the Labour Party had received an immense addition to its membership and leaders by the affiliation of the Miners' Federation, yet after the election they had only about 43 seats. This result by itself was a collapse of the Labour Party, but worse than this had happened. His opponent had said "those who nominate control," and had stated that the members of the Labour Party had nominated their representatives. At the 1910 general election the nominations of the rank and file were withdrawn by the score at the orders of the Executive acting on the instructions of the Liberal Party. Again, the election had been fought by Liberal and "Labour" Parties on the Veto of the House of Lords and the Budget. When the election was over Mr. Asquith announced that the Veto question would be deferred until after the Budget had been taken. A paper called the "Labour Leader" described Mr. Asquith's action as one of treachery to his constituents. When the matter was first voted upon the Labour Party voted for the Government. They therefore were equally as guilty of treachery as Mr. Asquith.

In March 1910 the Labour Party moved an amendment on the Army Estimates over the wages of Government employees, and when it was voted upon about 22 were absent and 15 of the remainder voted against their own amendment to save the Government. The fact that the Labour Party had lost every three-cornered contest—as well as several others—in the January election, showed how completely dependent upon the Liberals they were. While the working class accepted "leaders" they would always be misled. It showed that they had not yet reached that stage of class consciousness that was necessary for their emancipation. When they became Socialists they would abolish "leaders" and "leadership," and keep control and power in their own hands.

MR. INGHAM in his second speech said it appeared to him that the philosophy of the S.P.G.B. had changed since the issuing of their pamphlet on "Socialism and Religion" according to Mr. Fitzgerald's statements. There they laid down the materialist conception of history as their basis, while his opponent took up the idealist position. He was beginning to believe the S.P.G.B. had no intellectuality.

The working class must be free mentally from the influence of their rulers, but every class who had revolted had leaders. His opponent had stated that the S.P. were going to take control of the army and navy when they had a majority in Parliament. Did they think the capitalists would let them? Without organised labour outside political power would be useless. Men always had had and always would have leaders. It would not be by teaching but by economic pressure that the change would be brought

about, and the mass would follow leaders at the period of change. But as they would nominate these leaders they would control them. The Tories controlled those they nominated. Mr. Lloyd George was controlled by his nominators, who forced him to introduce measures that threatened his political career.

Snowden and Macdonald occupied the position of himself (Mr. Ingham) and the S.P.G.B. fifteen years ago, while men like Broadhurst then took up the attitude of Macdonald & Co. to day. Despite this, Labour politics must lead to Socialism and the future laid with the trade unions.

If the majority were with him at the Conference the clique would soon be turned out. So long as the working class thought a clique represents their interests they would support them. It was because they thought the Liberal clique thus represented them that they supported them to day.

MR. FITZGERALD said that his opponent clearly contradicted himself, and in parts admitted the correctness of the policy of the Socialist Party.

If the workers must be free mentally from the influence of their rulers, obviously a mental change was the first requisite. With reference to the point of the lack of intellectuality on the part of the S.P.G.B., what he (Mr. Fitzgerald) had said was that the S.P. contained no "intellectuals" of the type condemned by his opponent. To try and twist this into an admission of "lack of intellectuality" was both cheap and childish.

With regard to leaders, it was, perhaps, a trifle elementary, but as his opponent had introduced the point he must deal with it.

Under any system of organisation various activities had to be delegated to different individuals, but this delegation of function did not necessarily mean a sheep-like following, or the placing of power in the hands of the delegates. Thus in the Socialist Party certain members were delegated as speakers, some as writers, others as organisers, etc. But each and all were under the control of, and obeyed the directions of, the membership. The position of Mr. Ingham was similar to that of Keir Hardie, who stated that mankind was a herd who followed leaders, and that that was "the purest form of democracy"! That, of course, was the sort of following the clique who run the Labour Party wanted, so that they could make their bargains with the Liberals for posts and positions *a la* Shackleton, Cummings, Mitchell, and others.

His opponent's statements on the army and navy showed how little he understood the power of the ruling class. They controlled these forces because they possessed the political machinery. When this machinery was wrested from them by the working class, how could the capitalists prevent the workers controlling those forces? He had dealt with these matters in his first speech and his opponent had not shown a single point to be wrong.

His opponent's next statement showed how completely he was misled by the Anarchist rubbish re-labelled Syndicalism, that an economic organisation can destroy capitalism. No matter what the form of organisation or how complete its membership, such a combination of unarmed men would obviously be powerless against the armed forces while the capitalists had political power.

Macdonald and Snowden may have occupied a position fifteen years ago similar to that of his opponent to-day, but neither then nor now did they take up the attitude of the Socialist Party—i.e., the Socialist attitude.

If his opponent agreed that he must get a majority on his side to get his views adopted, he was admitting the correctness of the policy of the Socialist Party, for this was their position.

MR. INGHAM in his last speech said that delegation of function was exactly the position of the Labour Party. To take up a position of delegate of the organised workers one must be in their ranks, not outside. The Macdonald crowd would be pushed aside by those inside the Labour Party, not by those outside. While they (the S.P.) remained outside their organisation, criticising and fault-finding, they antagonised the workers and had no influence upon them.

By economic pressure, not by intelligence, the workers would be forced to take control.

The great trade unions were endeavouring to express themselves upon society, and would change with the growing consciousness of the workers. Thus the railway unions formed their great combination from inside; it was not formed by any men outside. The economic pressure would force the workers to realise the necessity for the Revolution, and the Socialists should be inside, aiding this development and bringing to a realisation the Socialist hopes and aspirations.

MR. FITZGERALD denied that the Labour Party adopted the policy of delegation of function that he had described. Their policy was one of delegation of power—and this made all the difference. If a position outside the Labour Party would antagonise the workers, then opposition to the Liberals would antagonise a still larger number, as the working-class following of the Labour Party. And actually what his opponent was defending was Socialists joining the Liberal Party, for as he (the speaker) had shown them in his previous speeches, the Labour Party was but a portion of the Liberal Party.

Take the question of nomination continually insisted upon by his opponent. The rank and file could, within certain limits, make nominations, but they did not control them. As shown in mass in Jan. and Dec., 1910, as shown in various bye elections, the Liberal party controlled them, and at their instructions scores of nominations were swept aside. The support of the Government, even against their own amendments, coupled with these facts, showed that the Liberal managers held the Labour Party in their grip, and dictated the policy as well as selected the candidates to be put forward. Hence his opponent's whole plea was for Socialists to join the Liberal Party.

The Socialist knew the majority of the workers were still below the stage of mental development necessary for the revolution, but experience showed that the most effective method was to fight all the enemies of working class interests, i.e., Socialism, to add to the education, and so shorten the time required for the establishment of Socialism.

PUBLIC SAFETY VERSUS RAILWAY PROFITS.

[CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.]

IV.—THE ENGINE.

AFTER even thus briefly reviewing the working conditions of the footplate men, I doubt whether anybody will question that the loco. running conditions are bad, and that the "elaborate precautions" for the public safety that we hear so much about are entirely wanting. We now come to another part of our survey, namely, the machines that the men have to work.

Like the men, the engines are overworked. They are also supplied with poor coal and oil, and are nothing like sufficiently examined or repaired. The officials' motto is: "As long as the wheels go round let her run." Let me quote the "Railway Magazine" for October 1908:—

"The proper cleaning of an engine is a great help to economy. The valves, packing, tubes, and firebox do not always get examined until trouble of a serious nature exists."

This is giving the game away with a vengeance. But the men get fined or otherwise punished if a mishap of any kind happens while working, as I have stated before.

To show how injustice is done to the men in the way of fines for losing time, etc., I may say a lot of it is entirely due to the bad state of the engines and to the villainous coal supplied (see "Drivers in Difficulties," "Railway Magazine," November 1911).

Now we will look at the working of an engine. The first thing after being left the previous day is to have the repairs that the driver entered in the repairs book carried out. This, by the way, is done in a very loose fashion, and, as often as not, the repairs, like the cleaning, remain undone, unless they happen to be of such a nature as to almost stop the engine.

Many a time I have known defects in the

brake apparatus to be ignored for days together, as also defects in the injectors, which might easily cause trouble on the road. Frequently, too, the regulators are allowed to get in such a condition as to "blow through" very badly. Before now I have seen engines at work with loose tyres, and spring hangers almost cut away, and very often the "blowing" of glands and cylinder covers is passed over as nothing.

The parts of the machine looked after most carefully are the boiler and the firebox, but even these are in a bad state, the continual breakage of firebox stays, and the number of leaking and burst tubes being ample evidence of this.

Next comes the cleaning (!) and perhaps a "wash out" of the boiler—a process which, if properly carried out, saves a great deal of fuel and prevents the boiler burning away. (The general rule is about 300 miles between each "wash out," but on local engines, where there is a fire for a week on end, a proper examination of the boiler even is out of the question, to say nothing of washing out.)

Next an "examiner" (!) looks rapidly over the engine, and then comes the driver's examination. This last, after knocking off ten minutes for finding the engine, getting out and replacing his cans and tools, etc., would work out at about twenty minutes—which, of course, is quite inadequate.

After the run another examination is made as before described. Once a month is about the usual interval for a thorough examination of the engine, for which it is "stopped" for two or three days. Generally eighteen months or two years elapse between the engine being the subject of "heavy" repairs, during which period the machine has to run some 100,000 miles.

In the face of all this it is really amusing to observe the righteous indignation of the companies and their henchmen in the matter of the driver's glass of beer—clearly enough exposed, by the facts herein described, as a shallow and pitifully cheap artifice to cover their own callous disregard for their passengers' safety, and cast suspicion for all the disasters that have happened in the past and will, under the conditions imposed by the greed for dividends, most certainly happen in the future, upon the men who work the rotten and uncared-for engines.

The trunk lines build their own engines—often by piece work—and it can be guessed how it is done. If the imagination is not lively enough to serve, perhaps Col. Van Dolop's remarks upon the cause of the Stoot's Nest disaster (L.B.S.C.) on Jan. 29, 1910 will assist.

According to the Colonel's report the accident was "caused by shifted wheel. The wheel was examined, and the grip between the wheel and axle can only have been a very loose one, and on most railways it is not customary to test whether wheels have a firm grip on their axles."

There is many an engine on the road to-day, on which the automatic brake apparatus is next to worthless, and it is a by-word amongst drivers on suburban passenger trains that they lose a lot of time through not being properly able to release the brake owing to the bad state of the apparatus. In fact, even to-day on a few lines, there are engines that work goods and coal trains of fairly heavy weight (whose stock is not "braked") which are fitted with the hand brake only—which is a fine state of affairs, and likely to prove pretty costly to somebody in a case of emergency.

Now just a word on overloading, which is a common occurrence, especially during the busy seasons. Often excessive loads are placed behind comparatively small engines, with the result that, to get along to time, the machines are "flogged" to the utmost, which obviously overstrains the working parts and overworks the men.

Is it to be doubted that a full and adequate explanation of many of the "accidents" which take place from time to time (and there are many that the public never hear of) is to be found in all this callous, pinching, false economy? When an enquiry (!) is held, the companies are time after time shielded by the person who issues the report of the enquiry, as the shipowners were shielded in the Board of Trade "enquiry" into the loss of the "Titanic." That is what such institutions and such "enquiries" are for. In the case of the "enquiry" into the cause of the Shrewsbury disaster, rather than indict the master class, those appointed to make the inves-

tigation attributed the "accident" to the alleged fact that the men "slept on the footplate whilst on duty." (See decision of Col. Yorke, "Railway Magazine," June 1908.)

CONCLUSION.

Now a final word in reference to the situation. It must not be thought that the whole of the defects of the railway systems have been brought forward. Space has permitted me to deal only with a few of the principle abuses connected with the calling of the loco. men, who are at least as much concerned and as responsibly engaged in the running of the trains as any other section of the railway slaves. I doubt if, after having read the irrefutable statements which have appeared in this series of articles, anyone can continue to hold the opinion, that the railway magnates really do run the safe services they would have us believe.

Now the railways are a necessary institution in our modern life, and the safety of the services should be the first consideration of, not only all who have anything to do with their provision and maintenance, but also of all who have occasion to use them. Therefore we will see if any remedy can be applied, and if so, what it is.

There is no solution under private ownership except "cutting down expenses" and the extension of the "control" we have heard so much about lately. The masters have no ideas in railway working outside of this. And as for the Trade Unions, the National Programmes of 1907 and 1911 of the A.S.L.E. & F. and the A.S.R.S. (the section dealing with loco. men) was a poor contrivance, and only calculated to give the present bad conditions a new lease of life. The "four eights" are no remedy for the railway man, because they would soon be nullified by the increased cost of living, etc. Moreover, such items as lodging and long-distance engine working figured prominently, whilst such necessary items as the fitting of all engines with power brakes—items which have a direct and vital bearing on safety—were omitted.

The Trade Unions may effect something, but they will never be able to grapple properly with the safety question, and often it looks as if the "leaders" do not intend to do so—the N.E.R. betrayal re Knox and A.S.R.S. to wit. Some of them, no doubt, are in earnest, and so are the rank and file, but they are not conscious of their position in society.

Now let us look at the claims of that nostrum, State Ownership of Railways, and see if that would solve the "problem."

We have no State lines in England but there are plenty in Europe, of which Mr. Bell, speaking of a tour through various countries on the Continent which own State lines, said they are not beneficial, either to the workers or to the public. "I am satisfied," he declared, "that, bad as are the conditions of British Railwaymen, they are far in advance of State owned railways on the Continent, and if conditions there are a fair sample of them, then save the British Railwayman from them." ("Railway Magazine," December 1908.)

Besides, we have an example in the frequent strikes which occur on the French State railways. For, after all, the State of to-day is merely the master class, so that anything owned by the State is just the property of the propertied class.

The only remedy, therefore, is that which is proposed by the Socialist, viz., that the railways shall be owned and controlled by the whole community for their own use. This, of course, can only be accomplished through the complete overthrow of the master class and the taking of all the means and instruments of production and distribution by the community for the community. When this condition of affairs is brought about the people will see to it that the safety, both of those who operate the railways and those who use them, shall be the first consideration, far transcending all question of speed or economy.

Only when this property condition has been instituted, when there is no longer any question of "cutting down expenses" in order to provide big dividends for idle shareholders and princely salaries for parasitic directors and jacks in office, will the services be safely run and the community be able to use them to the fullest extent.

Such a condition is Socialism, therefore only Socialism is the remedy for the unsafe and unsatisfactory conditions under which the railway services are run.

J. SEVIER.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR SEPTEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates 11.30	C. Gatter	C. Baggett	J. Roe	C. Elliott
" Prince's Head 7.30	A. Barker	H. Joy	J. Roe	J. Fitzgerald
Clapham Common 7.30	A. Kohn	H. Joy	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green 7.30	A. Jacobs	J. G. Stone	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
Finbury Park 7.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	A. Fitzgerald	H. Joy
Forest Gate, (Station) 7.30	A. Timms	A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	T. W. Allen
Hyde Park (Marble Arch) 7.30	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	J. Le Carte	A. Bays
Ilford (station) 7.30	H. King	J. Fitzgerald	A. Leslie	A. Kohn
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 11.30	F. J. Rourke	J. Brown	C. Parker	A. Timms
" " 7.30	A. L. Cox	A. Bays	J. Brown	J. G. Stone
Parliament Hill " 11.30	A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	T. W. Allen	B. Seach
Peckham Triangle 7.30	C. Elliott	C. Gatter	J. G. Stone	B. Young
Paddington, Prince of Wales 11.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	A. Barker
Stoke Newington, Eddy Rd. 12.0	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	B. Seach	H. Cooper
Tooting Broadway 11.30	H. Joy	S. Blake	C. Elliott	E. Lake
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 11.30	T. W. Allen	A. Barker	C. Baggett	A. Gatter
Walham Green Church 7.30	A. Anderson	H. Cooper	W. Lewington	F. J. Rourke
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn. 8.0	E. Lake	E. Fairbrother	S. Blake	A. W. Pearson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	A. Bays	A. Jacobs	B. Young	A. Hoskyns
Watford Market Place 7.30	J. G. Stone	H. King	J. Ward	J. Brown
	H. Joy	F. J. Rourke	W. Lewington	A. Jacobs
		A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald	C. Baggett

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's 8.30.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8 Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 83 Britannia-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.
GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, at 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.
ILFORD.—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sats. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.
ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.
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WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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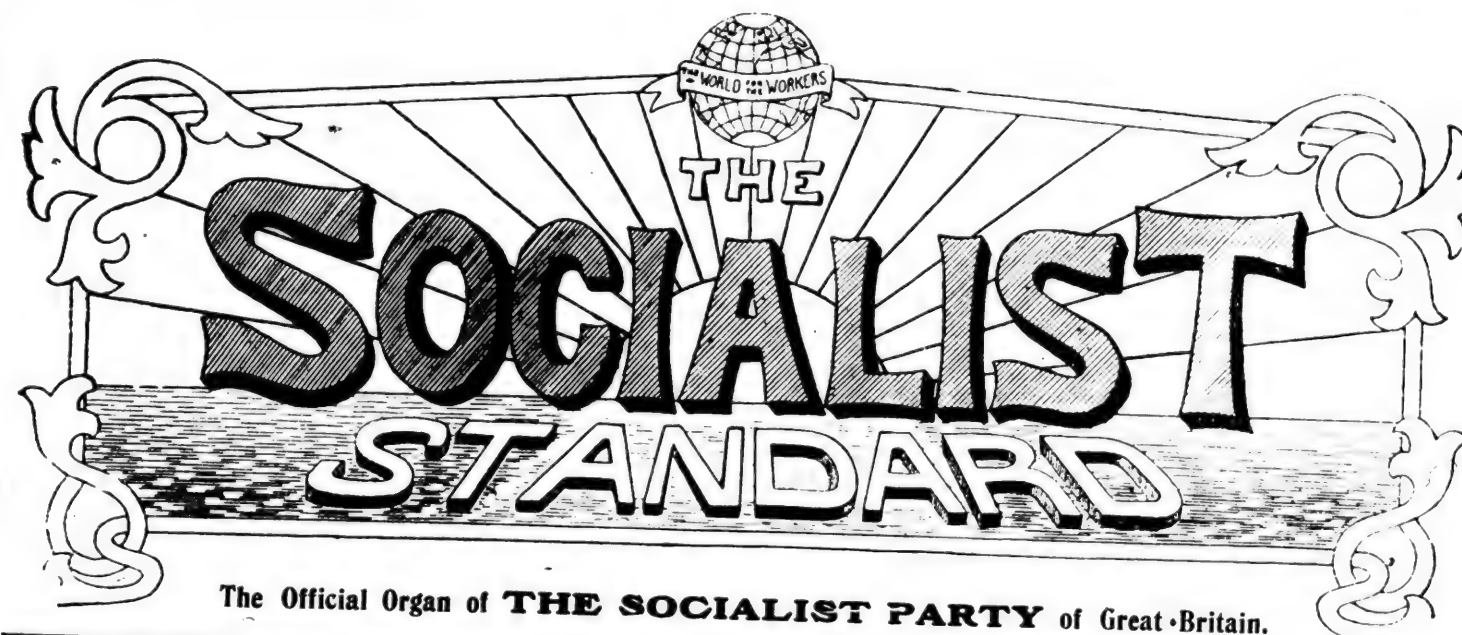
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

A SOCIALIST VIEW.

WHAT is democracy?

Many people, when faced with this question, conjure up pictures of the American eagle, and think that democracy is all that that amiable bird symbolises. They imagine that a State run on the lines of the American Republic is a democratic State, that the institutions of such a State are democratic institutions, that the spirit of such a State is the democratic spirit, and that the philosophy of such a State—the "Rights of Man" (printed, of course, on the reverse side of a "green-back")—is the democratic philosophy. All of which ideas are wrong.

The common meaning of the term "democracy,"—a form of society in which supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people—is correct enough as far as it goes, and is sufficient in all that it implies. But it implies something very different from the American Republic, and American institutions, and the "Rights of Man."

For supreme power to be lodged in the hands of the people does not mean merely that they are to have the widest possible franchise and equal voting power. It implies that the people are to have complete control of all social institutions, the ordering of all social activities, the domination of the whole social life. Such a condition of affairs presupposes at the very outset the ownership by the people of all the means of life, all the social products, even all the social intelligence and skill and energy.

There can be no other foundation for democracy than this common ownership of all the means of life, for where these fall into private possession social distinctions at once spring up, the owners become dominators, and it becomes impossible for the people to control the social activities—because, forsooth, they have not control of the means and instruments through which the most important of those activities—those directed to the production of the social wealth—are applied.

Notwithstanding, then, the popular conviction to the contrary, existing republics no more enfold democracy than do monarchies. Nor are they nearer to it since they are no nearer to the property condition upon which democracy must be founded.

That was democracy which existed among all races prior to the advent of private property. There the people of the community really controlled the affairs of the community, deputed functions to certain officials, but jealously keeping power in their own hands. The "little brief authority" in which they dressed their elected persons was never allowed to pass beyond the popular control. Even in the case of the war-chiefs—the direction, perhaps, in which usurpation was most likely—it was in many cases usual to elect two, to act alternately, in order that the influence of one should form a counter-

balance to that of the other.

If we cannot have democracy under the present social system, at least we may have men and women imbued with the democratic spirit. Indeed, every Socialist must be so imbued. In the light of this spirit he has faith in the capacity of the whole people to control the social system as a democracy, just as he has faith, primarily, in the capacity of the working class to institute the social system based upon the common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

It is obvious that the natural corollary of the claim that the working class must make these means and instruments the property of the whole people is the implication that the people, as such, and not as a few directing the many, will be able to organise for the efficient use of those instruments of labour. Therefore the class idea—the idea that the working class possess every qualification for the establishment of a democratic social system—and the democratic idea—the idea that the whole people are capable of democratically controlling the affairs of society—are intimately connected, are, as a matter of fact, inseparable.

Democracy has a philosophy of its own. This philosophy is grounded upon the exactly opposite conception to that upon which all individualist systems of thought, from the capitalist to the Anarchistic, rest. In the democratic conception the organic nature of society is the very corner-stone. Naturally this awards to the individual a subordinate place. He finds his true position as an organic atom, the product of the organic whole, and subordinate, therefore, to the social body. In the democratic philosophy it is realised how supremely important a factor in social development the mass of the people—the "rank and file"—are. There is no intellectual class. The highest intellect is a social product, the result of the food, shelter, and clothing produced by society, and of the accumulated experiences for which society has paid with pain. And further, the opportunity even for such intellects to perform their useful part depends entirely upon the general level of intelligence. Just as the female blossom on the gourd vine, open before there is a mate to round her career, must die unfruitful, so the intellect advanced beyond its day must prove sterile and useless to society.

The individual, then, is a social product; he owes not only his being, but his opportunities, to society. Instead of being the "great man," to whom society owes everything, he is the creature of the social entity, without which he is nothing.

In the conclusions of such a philosophy the capabilities, the strength, and the energies of the individual are just as much the product of the social activities as are the means and instruments of production and distribution; also they

are just as necessary to the social organism, and therefore just as properly fall under the social control.

The philosophy of democracy replaces the "Rights of Man" of the bourgeoisie—which mocked humanity so cynically at the Paris Commune, and does so every day, in fact, the wide world over—with the "Rights of Society."

In the course of time democracy must also have an ethic of its own. What form this will take can at present only be roughly prognosticated. Just as, with all our knowledge of primitive democracy, we are unable to adequately conceive the outlook on life of the social units of those early days, so we cannot hope to understand the mental outlook of the democrats of the future.

As the Materialist Conception of History, however, teaches us that all ethics take their form from the method in which the people gain their livelihood, when the people gain their livelihood democratically, the ethic will be in keeping. Public opinion will then be, as public opinion always is, favourably disposed to the public welfare as it is conceived in the public mind. To-day this conception of the public welfare is distorted to the capitalist view of the meaning of the term; but the popular conception shapes the ethic of the day. The revolutionist requires a new ethic, and, cynical as he may pretend to be in this connection, he has got it. It is based on the needs of humanity as he understands them. When the Revolution has been accomplished, and warring interests have for ever been unified, when the individual interest, having been made one throughout the community, has by that achievement been absorbed by the community, when all the machinery of wealth production and distribution, and the human labour-power by which this wealth is produced and distributed, and the wealth which is so produced, is owned by society; when by the harmonising of social activities, and the clearing away of confusing social anomalies and contradictions, men and women come to realise through every fibre of their being that they owe everything to the commonwealth, that without society they are nothing, that they are but cells in the social organism, on which every act of theirs has a far-reaching effect for good or evil—then the ethic prescribed by public opinion will be such as will make for the clearly known good of society.

Then once again democracy will exist in the world, and men and women, nurtured into finer feeling by that standard of conduct which holds the common good to be the highest good, will unconsciously sink their individuality in the community, and strive always for that common good, as the highest morality of which the human mind is capable of conceiving.

A. E. JACOME

THE RETURN OF GOD.

The materialism of a former generation of scientists is in the melting pot, and a reversion to the metaphysical idealism is becoming very popular and common. Philosophically we can understand and sympathise, though we may not agree with, the distinction between the idea and the thing, and the logical processes between them. Scientifically, however, we can neither understand nor sympathise with the confusion between the matter of the thing and the force or energy it manifests.

Yet it seems to be the purpose of prominent scientists to restate the scientific proposition in terms of a very much qualified materialism. The outcome of the materialistic hypothesis is too revolutionary for our masters, and its disquietening effects have to be scotched at the fountain head.

The immortality of the soul having been shown to be incompatible with a materialistic and evolutionary explanation of life, the power of the Church as a soporific for the under dogs of this world has waned. That power can be revived only by a scientific sanction of the ideas on which the Church rests, even though the whole gamut of the Church's creed is not included. So at the British Association, the President, Sir Oliver Lodge, promulgated the opinion that the individual consciousness survived death, and was able to communicate with the living.

The phenomena of spiritualism is thus homologated, and the materialist who has insisted that the mind was of the brain, which was a purely physical organ whose functions, however complicated and obscure, were no more incapable of being understood and explained than is the process of digestion, the circulation of the blood, or any other functions performed by the various organs or collections of organs, of the body.

We do not know whether the disembodied spirit still experiences, over yonder, the inconveniences of, say, a faulty stomach or a gouty toe; neither does Sir Oliver say that the spirit persists for ever, and is therefore immortal in the theological sense.

But of even more importance than the question of survival after death is the reference to the transcendental god as the ruler of the universe. Thus the teleology of the early Victorian era is restated with all the authority of twentieth century science. We had thought God and the ghosts were laid long since, and our spirit that was ordained either to everlastingly burn, or to perpetually twang the celestial harp in the clouds, had passed into the limbo of forgotten perillities along with our belief in these mythical places.

For science had laid bare the majestic sweep of evolution from the star-dust of the nebula, through the material earth stage, with its atmosphere and water complete, to the burnt out cinder stage, like the moon; had traced animal life from the amoeba to man; and generally unravelled the whole cosmic scheme. Evolution is accepted as a fact by all the scientists and most laymen, to such an extent that even the Church has adopted it and interpreted it to fit its own theories, while active opposition to the principles of evolution is practically extinct.

If evolution means anything; if the data of paleontology and of embryology teach anything; it is surely the unbroken succession of changes from the lower to the higher, culminating in man. There was a great dispute as to whether man was not a special edition by himself, equipped with something different—not in degree but in kind—from any other living being. That dispute was settled by Huxley by his brilliant and conclusive contribution, "Man's Place in Nature," in which the reasons for placing man in a group with the "Primates," and not in a class alone, are given.

At what stage, then, does the immortal soul appear? Does the personality of the gorilla survive death, or does the Tasmanian aborigine start the immortals? Or is it something between these? In any case, what a fearful—almost hellish—confusion must reign "over there" if the souls of the millions of men and women, for the hundreds of thousands of years men have been on this planet keep on accumulating!

The Ruler of the Universe who made all that therein is, who "shaped the suns and marked their ways upon the ancient deep," and who finally "created man in His own image," has hitherto found no justification in science. Rather on the contrary has it been found that man in his different stages of knowledge, has created for himself a god or gods in the image of his knowledge—or want of it. And so to-day, when Sir Oliver Lodge creates for himself a god, He will be in a somewhat different image naturally from that of the Hebrew wise men emerging from the later stage of barbarism, but will have all the indications of being the embodiment of what we do not yet know. For that is what "God" has invariably represented. Backward as far as we may push the limits of our knowledge, as much as we may discover of the workings of nature, there ever remain the doubts and questionings of the enquiring mind, and that ignorance is covered by attributing the unknown to "God." At best it is a begging of the question.

The fact remains that we who are of the earth, earthy, are satisfied that sufficient is known to make a vast difference to our life here—the life of which we are certain and which we know most about—the life of which we have tried to picture, and make practicable the realisation of, the possibilities.

It is an attempt of our masters to divert our attention to an imaginary life elsewhere in order to cover up and minimise the shortcomings of our life here. We doubt whether at this time of day the eyes of the working class can again be directed heavenward. For centuries they looked that way, and nothing came of it. "No Saviour from on high delivers" us from our slavery here; it is to ourselves and our fellow mortals we have to look for deliverance. Science has provided us with sufficient material to afford a solution, and it now requires but the co-operation of the workers in making use of that information to solve once and for ever the social problem, through the overthrow of capitalism, and the construction of a Socialist co-operative commonwealth out of the materials collected by capitalism in its ruthless course.

D. K.

THE FORUM.

SOCIALISM VERSUS SECULARISM.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Sir,—While agreeing with a good deal in the article under the above heading in your August issue, there are some points in it which seem to me to require criticism.

To start with, the title is misleading. Socialism cannot be *versus* Secularism. It is Secularism. Your point should be that it is the *only* Secularism. This would then place you in your true relationship with the N.S.S. The writer objects that Atheism is anything more than anti-Theism—the negation of the God idea. He will find that that is all it is. You cannot saddle Atheism with all or any of the theories of origin which do not come within the conception of the God-origin of the Cosmos. On the contrary, it is only Atheism that is capable of analysing scientific ideas properly.

Neither is Atheism committed to the ridiculous position about the inconceivability of infinity. Atheists may be so committed. Atheism is not a red-herring. The need for your excellent pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion," proves this. The only virtue or utility in Atheism is (and Atheism loses nothing by confessing it), that, properly conceived, it frees the mind to enter the analysis of Socialism and sociology with the impartiality and right thinking which religion prevents. Religion distorts the mind, therefore Socialism stands no chance of being understood.

That all the Atheists are not supporting the Socialist theories is no more the fault of Atheism than it is the fault of Socialism that some "Socialists" turn bourgeois in ideas when they become bourgeois in the manner of getting their living.

You may answer that these "Socialists" are

not Socialists. I offer a similar reply re J. M. Robertson, M.P., etc. Their Atheism has done them no good. The other matter raised in Mr. Le Cart's article I thoroughly endorse.

Yours truly,
THOMAS REYNOLDS.

The above criticism clearly indicates that the person responsible for it is wholly ignorant of Socialism, and consequently associates it with all sorts of concepts which are, in reality, quite foreign to it.

Our correspondent holds that Secularism properly understood is synonymous with Socialism. Not only is that statement delightfully ridiculous in view of the confusion that exists among Secularists in regard to the political aspect of society, but it is untrue.

Secularism merely represents the opinions of people whose observations have been narrowed down to one single aspect of society, viz., the religious one. It stands for "this-worldism" in opposition to the belief in the existence of another world.

Religious ideas, however, being shaped and determined by social conditions, only exist as a product of the particular social system in which they are manifested, and as such are not based at all on the existence of another world. Secularism, therefore, is essentially nothing but a futile negation; it mistakes a shadow for the thing that casts it, and, at its best, only comes to the level of other organisations which are out to secure certain reforms while leaving untouched the cause that produces the very evil they profess to eradicate. Thus our correspondent's attempt to justify atheistic Secularism on the ground that "religion distorts the mind" falls to pieces, for Secularism is itself guilty of inaccurate mental vision. An examination of the written objects of Secularism as it appears in its organised and concrete form clearly shows that it attacks certain superstitions only to replace them with others just as bad and just as reactionary from the point of view of the working class. Nor is there any excuse in the pithy suggestion that it is misunderstood and ill-used by its adherents, for if it leaves room for misunderstanding and ill-usage it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment.

Now, the reply to the "step-by-step and wait and see" policy of our critic, who says that Socialism stands no chance of being understood while religious influence lasts, is obvious. We submit to him that if it is possible to free the mind from religious ideas without destroying the cause that produces them, then it is even more possible to make that mind at once understand the cause of the trouble and the remedy for it. Success in the first instance would be nothing short of a miracle; in the second it is the result of a clear and simple process of education.

Unlike Secularism, Socialism is not governed by appearances, but explains them. Its policy is the outcome of an analysis of the economic forces which *always* lie at the base of all social structures, so that it reaches the root from which not only springs the world of ideas, but in which is also to be found the cause of all evil. These economic forces create an antagonism of interests between the few and the many, and it naturally follows that the minds of the many must be misguided if the few are to survive—hence the need for and the use of religious influence so long as that antagonism lasts. The object of Socialism is to destroy this antagonism by substituting common for private ownership of the means of life, and this transformation alone will sound the death-knell of religious influence, for the robbery of the working class will have ceased, and with it the need to subject the mind to misguidance.

Thus Socialism is anti-religious, but to say that it is the logical outcome of Atheism and Secularism is as silly as to expect a mouse to give birth to a mountain. M. J. LE CART.

Socialists are poor men and women. The opponents of Socialism usually are the rich. Do you not think the men and women of your own class, who must be poor while you are poor, may be as well worth listening to as those who can be rich only so long as you are poor?

THE METHODS OF THE PROFESSIONAL STRIKE SMASHER.

THE recent death of James Farley, the notorious American strike breaker, calls to mind the function of the blackleg in capitalist society, and also one of the principle reasons strikes so frequently, instead of benefiting the workers, actually worsen their position.

In the first place it is, of course, understood that the efforts of workers in Trade Unions, fighting the masters with their only weapon, the strike, in order to sell their labour power to the best possible advantage, is only a necessary part of capitalism, and does not aim at emancipating the workers from wage-slavery.

When a strike occurs the only way the workers can bring it to a successful issue is by completely or partially paralyzing the particular industry concerned, or, for that matter, many industries, and so compelling the masters to capitulate. But the whole record of Trade Unionism has shown in this respect an almost complete failure. When we look for the reason of this failure we generally find it to be due to the fact that, although the Trade Unionists have all, in particular cases, come out on strike, the masters have been able to utilise other labour to keep the concern going until the strike had been tided over and the men forced to submit.

The weapon the masters beat the workers with is the most efficient weapon ever used by the dominators of human society—a weapon that could only be brought to perfection under capitalism. This weapon is starvation, which the masters can and do wield through their control of the food supply. Workers with their wives and children must have food in order to live, and the only way to obtain food short of capturing the political machinery, is to work for a master.

As the capitalists are not out merely to injure the workers, but to make as much profit as possible, their first act is to weigh up the gains or losses likely to be incurred through their giving way or holding out. If the masters consider the demands of their employees to be hardly worth involving themselves in the trouble and inconvenience of a prolonged strike over, they will accede to their workers' demands. But if they think the inconvenience of a fight outweighed by what they will lose by departing from the old conditions, then they will not hesitate to fight.

When a strike is declared the first act of the masters is to try and obtain other workers in place of the strikers, because if this can be done the strike must automatically collapse after a very short time, as starvation will soon compel the workers to submit. To obtain blacklegs is usually fairly easy, because capitalism, by producing an immense army of unemployed, has the material ready to hand. Men who are watching wives and children dying of slow starvation, who have tramped the streets for weeks in the hopeless quest for a job, make just the right material for a scab-hunter, although in the last resort the masters can frequently fall back upon the armed forces to act as blacklegs, as they showed at Liverpool and other places a year or two ago.

This was where Farley came as a boon and a blessing to the American capitalists. Having had some experience of strikes, and being a particularly unprincipled ruffian, he saw how he could make a fortune (which he soon did) by putting into the employers' hands the means of crushing the workers' industrial movements.

He provided the masters with a stock of professional strike breakers, specially picked men whom he sent to any part of the country at any moment, to undertake any work. By means of these any industry could be kept going until such time as the strikers were exhausted and wished to be taken back.

Where professional strike-breakers were not obtainable the blacklegs were generally imported from some other part of the country, and it was in this way that the strikers were so badly hit after the fight, for when the strike was settled the blacklegs were still kept on, and only a limited number of the strikers were taken back.

Very much the same thing occurs in England in similar circumstances, as witness the dock

strike of a year ago. A representative of the "Daily News and Leader," after a visit to Dockland, made the following statement (26.6.13):

"The distress in Canning Town is acute and wide-spread, and it is largely because the strike enabled the P.L.A. and shipowners to increase their margin of surplus labour. Where already there were two men for each job in the docks, a thousand more have come to live, to compete for the same amount of work."

To sum the matter up, the chances of even a section of the workers improving their position under capitalism is therefore seen to be practically nil—the weapons of the masters are too powerful and too easily brought into operation. The condition of the working class gets steadily worse with each succeeding year, and Trade Union action at its best (as Karl Marx points out in "Value, Price, and Profit") can only act as a brake on the downward movement of that condition. It therefore behoves the workers to give up these vain fancies and time-wasting views, and to organise with us in the Socialist Party to get control of the political machinery and the armed forces of the nation, for the purpose of abolishing the wages system, and then the blackleg, like Othello, will find his occupation gone. G. McLATCHIE.

"THE NAKED SAVAGE."

HARD and monotonous toil, sordid and dirty surroundings, poor and adulterated food, shoddy, slop-made clothing, jerry-built houses or tenement slum-dwellings, dull and colourless environment, close association with penury and hard-fisted "thrift," miserliness unmannerly, uncouth companionship, endless worry and turmoil about petty things—such is the lot of the bulk of the workers within the capitalist system of society.

And what should be their lot? Do they not deserve more? To the workers in the past society owes all that it has. All the comforts and joys of modern civilisation are the result of the energy and toil of the worker past and present. It is the worker who makes possible the comforts of the idler, the pleasures of the rich. It is the worker who, with brain-directed hand, fashions the tool, the machine, and the finished food product. He it is who erects the palace for the king and the slum-hovel for himself; who toils in the drab factory, sinks the mine shaft and cajoles mother earth to part with her treasures. The worker it is who in laboratory and office wrestles with the problems of how and why. It is, in short, the wage-slave of today who directs and controls all the operations of the actual work of producing and distributing wealth.

The most gigantic task is not too great for organised Labour. Labour spans rivers and crosses seas; captures the wind and the lightning for her purposes, and has harnessed the torrent and the stream.

For long ages man has struggled with nature for mastery—at first ignorantly superstitious, stumbling along with but a blind understanding. But one by one the secrets of nature have been learnt and mastered.

In the infancy of the human race primitive man dwelt in forests or caves, depending for subsistence upon wild roots, nuts, and berries. Naked and shivering; without either the means for, or the knowledge of the art of, producing fire; without the means of communication with his fellows, surrounded by unknown dangers, he began to think and invent.

Discovery followed discovery until to-day it is seen that man in his struggle with nature for a livelihood has triumphed and his subsistence is secure.

Frightened by the fire from the heavens, primitive man worships it, and then controls it, using his god to cook his dinner. The enemy of man—the larger beast of prey—has been conquered and exterminated. Other animals have been tamed and domesticated. Beginning with the stick and the unpolished stone, man has gradually added to his store of implements and tools. He sharpened the stone to an axe-head, and fixed it to a shaft. The discovery of the bow and arrow, and the working of soft metals, followed by the knowledge of smelting, gave

the rising race enormous power. Iron tools gave man the ship; the iron ploughshare pushed forward agriculture, and gave rise to architecture and art.

The invention of writing, permitting ideas to be passed down, discoveries to be recorded, and a wider communication between man and man, was responsible for enormous progress, and finally the discovery of a mechanical motive power capable of turning the wheel and wielding the hammer gave the means of producing wealth in abundance with very little exertion on the part of the descendent of the naked savage.

The descendent of the naked savage—who is he? With all our advancement, all our marvellous powers and possibilities, we have still the naked savage with us. We have worse. The powers of wealth production are lying idle and in the midst of plenty the people are starving and naked. The modern worker not only hungers, but he hungers with succulent dainties all around him, and sees his children wither amid a plethora of good things—good food, good clothing, and good houses of his making, but denied to him and his though they perish of want and exposure.

Like Tantalus of the fable, the modern worker stands up to his chin in good things which elude his lips the moment he attempts to enjoy them, and all around him grows the fruit of his labour that he is not allowed to touch.

How foolish and absurd it is! How would our savage ancestor stare. Starvation he understood; he knew, also, what it was to be cold. But to lie down hungry beside a good dinner would be a proceeding entirely beyond his comprehension, and only to be ascribed to witchcraft and devils.

And perhaps he would not be far wrong. The working class are certainly bewitched. With the brain and muscle to produce wealth they stand idly by and allow the masters to take what they have produced. Not only so—they cringingly beg for a share and wait meekly upon the idler's pleasure. They give him their daughters to enjoy, and take up arms to defend him against his enemy—themselves.

Astonished indeed would the savage be, for he would see winged chariots manufactured by the workers and driven by them, yet used solely for the pleasure of the drones. He would see those who work the hardest rewarded with the worst accommodation, and the laziest loafer with crowds of busy men and women waiting upon him. And he would wonder, as the Socialist wonders, and wait for the toiler to end the farce—or shall we say tragedy?—by awaking from his trance.

The awakening seems long deferred, but awaken he must. Entranced as he is by the conception of private property, events will eventually force him to see how utterly foolish he is, and how easily imposed upon.

When the awakening comes there will be nothing in the way of the toiler's enjoyment. Relieved of the vast amount of unnecessary labour that the idlers compel him to perform, freed from the restrictions that capitalism places in the way, no longer compelled to ask: "Will it profit my master?" the worker will go on doing that which will add to the comfort and pleasure of the community and sweep away poverty, misery, vice, crime, and all the evils that arise, directly and indirectly, from the private ownership by a class of the means by which the people obtain their livelihood. TWEL.

"SOCIALISM TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post-Free

"It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing necessary for the maintenance of the body cannot be maintained, in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality

and drunkenness; in which the pains of starvation, stunted development, and moral degradation accumulate; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unceasing battling with hunger rounded by a pauper's grave.

"The pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness." Is it necessary to say more? Man desires recreation and enjoyment. When he has learned to appreciate intellectual pleasures he will turn less frequently to the merely animal. Under capitalism the workers are denied the time and the means for intellectual recreation, hence their debasement. Socialism alone, because it will give to the workers the fruits of their labour, can give them the leisure, means, and opportunities for genuine happiness and enjoyment. And even if it could be proved that under Socialism the human race would breed in swarms, still the robbery of the working class by the capitalist class would not be justified. F. F.

BY THE WAY.

THE "Daily News" (28.8.13) once again tells us how old people taking their 5s. portion of "rare and refreshing fruit," reduce the wages of those with whom they live. It says:

"A family of seven . . . five of whom are in receipt of old age pensions, are living near Redhill. . . . With the 25s. a week received from the State, supplemented by the earnings of the younger men, the family are able to lead a happy and comfortable life."

So the cunningly schemed old age pensions relieve the rates at the expense of the "earnings of the younger men."

Whilst the anti-Socialist is fond of mouthing the old drivel that Socialism will break up the family life, the following is worthy of notice. Perhaps it is because of the frequency of the smashing of homes and breaking up of families under capitalism that the anti-Socialist prophesies it for the future:

"John Littlewood, 59, was charged with begging. He was standing in the gutter playing a whistle. Addressing the magistrate he declared that wherever he applied for employment he was always met with the reply: 'You are too old.' 'I have a very good certificate here from Chatham Dockyard. I was 18 years there. . . I had a good little home, but I had to part with it bit by bit.' ('Reynolds's,' 31.8.13.)

Too old at 58, says the employer; too young by eleven years, says Mr. Lloyd George. This was evidently a case for the magistrate—or the undertaker.

The one, you see, can restore his "family life" for a month in the stone jug, while the other can put him into the way of having a nice little wooden hut all to himself, which he would be allowed to hold in peaceful possession until landlords are no more and bum-bailiffs cease from troubling.

The Right Hon. David Lloyd George made a speech a short time since dealing with the armament question. Of course he had to refer to "social reform," and then he informed the capitalists how they would benefit by it.

"When they came to social reform and improved the conditions of the people they improved their health and their efficiency, purely as means for the production of wealth. . . . It was no good saying they were spending 20 millions on insurance and old age pensions. They had got to look at the other side of the ledger, and that was worth a good deal more than 20 millions a year."

It is interesting to note the utterances of this oily-tongued hypocrite, for when he is addressing his paymasters he specially emphasises the benefit that will accrue to the capitalist class as a result of Liberal "social reform"—"purely as means for the production of wealth." Yet this is the man who, a few years ago, told us that "No one can really honestly defend the present system."

In a leading article in "Reynolds's" (24.8.13) devoted to the increase in the prices of food and

and other commodities, the writer showed the hopelessness and futility of the workers clinging to the gospel of Liberalism as a medium for their salvation. Let me quote two passages.

"In no other country has there been the same press of social reform measures; in no other country has there been the same effort made to grapple with poverty."

And again:

"In spite of all our social reform agitation, in spite of Compensation Acts, Wages Boards, Old-Age Pensions, and National Insurance, powerful forces have been at work to keep a vast mass of our people from getting away from the edge of the precipice of starvation."

What an admission of failure! Could any indictment of mine be stronger? After seven years of Liberal rule and unparalleled trade boom, a large mass are on the verge of starvation! Were we not told by a leading light of the Liberal party 1908 that they were going to "strike starvation for ever from the dark category of evils with which honest men and women are beset"? Liberalism has been tried and found wanting. Socialism alone contains the remedy.

The "Christian Commonwealth" for August 27th contains an article from the pen of Philip Snowden, M.P., dealing with the Chesterfield election, and once more is the attitude taken up by the Socialist Party justified. Under a sub heading "A Myth Exploded," he tells us that:

"The result of the election has shown that the late member was in no sense an independent Labour member. It has shown that the claim that the Labour Party in the House of Commons represents electors who have been alienated from Liberalism and Toryism, and who believe in a Labour Party independent of both, is a myth. To try to keep that myth alive is neither possible nor honest. It is perfectly true that there is in the constituencies a very great volume of opinion which is in favour of independent Labour representation. In the industrial constituencies it probably represents 25 per cent of the voters. But the Labour Party in the House of Commons has not been returned solely by that section of the electorate. Its members sit in Parliament because in four-fifths of the cases some understanding or arrangement has been made with the Liberals. Under such circumstances it is ridiculous to expect that Labour members will quarrel seriously with the party by whose goodwill they hold their seats."

Mr. Snowden goes on:

"Over anxiety to get its nominees into Parliament has led to compromise and bargaining in the constituencies, and anxiety to keep in Parliament has prevented the carrying out of a fighting policy."

Such is the confession of this leading light of the "Independent" Labour Party. It shows once more that these fakirs are nothing more than office seekers, trading on the ignorance and mal-education of the workers.

It would be interesting to know the object of the visit paid by the Rev. C. F. Blyth to the flat kept by a young woman. Was he desirous of seeing her about her "spiritual welfare"?

"Birds of a feather flock together." Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, now that he is temporarily released from his arduous labours in Parliament and India, has been enjoying a game of golf with Mr. Asquith, of Featherstone fame.

In view of the recent railway disaster at Aisgill, all new readers of this journal should procure the issues from June and read the articles "Public Safety v. Railway Profits." It will be seen from these that such accidents are bound to result from the cheese-paring policy of the companies, and that the only object of the Board of Trade enquiries is to blind the public to the fact that their lives are placed in the keeping of overworked and underpaid men, operating rotten engines, and supplied with bad coal.

THE SCOUT.

THE LABOUR PARTY IN PARLIAMENT.

THE Chesterfield Bye-Election has re-opened the question of the Labour Party's position as a political party. After the local T.U. official being adopted as the Liberal and Labour candidate, the prince of political independence, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, solemnly anathematises such an unholy alliance. As the Labour Party constitution definitely states that candidates must run as "Labour" candidates only, there was nothing else the leader of the party could do but disown him who broke the rules.

In spite, however, of the repudiation of the candidate by the chairman of the organisation, its members, who are also members of the candidate's Trade Union, supported the aspirant. This offence was aggravated by the defiant speeches as well as actions against the Labour Party Executive for casting out Mr. Kenyon because he had received the official Liberal label.

Although the circumstances are tempting enough in all conscience, I am going to refrain from commenting on the Chesterfield bye election, and treat of the position of the party as a whole, a position upon which this election throws a flood of light and provides an excellent illustration.

The Labour Party in Parliament boasts 42 members. The candidates have to be run as "labour" candidates only, and no connection with any other political party is allowed. The Labour Party is nominally as independent of the Liberal party as of the Tory party—or the Socialist party. Yet in practice the Labour members are, for the purposes of the Government, the equivalent of Liberal members. The Liberal and Tory parties in the House exactly equilibrate with 272 members each, but the Liberals hold office with the Irish Nationalist and Labour votes.

When the Labour Party were first returned as a separate party in 1906, they sat on the cross benches, belonging to neither side, but now they sit on the Liberal side. Is this only due to the exigencies of the seating accommodation?

The late Mr. Haslam, who sat for Chesterfield, was a fully-accredited Labour member. The seat was won in what the followers of the Labour Party euphemistically describe as "a straight fight with the Tory." The value of the independence of such a position is admirably depicted by the subsequent happenings at Chesterfield and the walk-over of the Liberal candidate in spite of the official repudiation by the Labour Executive. The value of the independence of the Labour Party is also shown in the fact that not one of the 42 seats they occupy has been won in opposition to the Liberal party. Every one of their seats is held for the Liberal party, by the goodwill of the Liberal party, and it is not too much to say that the official Liberal party could claim almost any one of them in the same way as at Chesterfield. Liberal votes are behind every Labour member in the House, and his "independence" of Liberalism can be valued accordingly.

The same holds true particularly in those two-seated constituencies now held by one Liberal and one Labour member as at Leicester, Blackburn, Derby, Halifax, Newcastle, Stockport, Sunderland, Norwich, Merthyr, Dundee, and Bolton. In each of these cases one Liberal and one Labour candidate were opposed to two Unionist candidates, and the two seats are held practically with the same votes. At Preston the two unionists were successful, and the Liberal and Labour candidates, locked in each other's embrace, sunk into temporary political oblivion.

A list of the seats held by Labour men without opposition from the Liberals would exhaust the remainder of the party. In addition to those successful in fighting the Tories for the Liberals, the following, who were unsuccessful, adds to and completes the tale of Labour dependence on Liberalism. Kirkdale, Liverpool, Mr. McKerrall lost to the Unionists by 2,992 against 4,205; at St. Helen's Mr. Glover was knocked out by 6,016 against 5,752; at Central Sheffield Mr. Bailey lost to the Tory by 3,455 against 3,271; at Wigan Mr. Twist was defeated and lost his seat by 4,673 against 4,110; and at Newton, S.W. Lancashire, Mr. Seddon also lost

his seat by 6,706 against 6,562.

There have been cases, however, where the Labour Party have contested seats against both parties. These cases are rare, and tend to become rarer. Occasionally the local Labour organisation take the bit between their teeth and rush into a contest, either against, or with the unwilling approval of, the Centre. The nervousness of the seat-holders is increased when such a rift in the lute results in losing the seat to the Tories. Such results occurred at Crewe, Chatham, Camlachie, and Midlothian, where the "split progressive vote let the Tory in." In thirteen other constituencies the Labour Party put up a candidate against both Liberal and Tory parties, and the Liberal was returned at the top of the poll, in every case with the Labour man a bad third.

In addition to the Labour Party as the political expression of the trade unions, there is also the pseudo-Socialist parties. Of these the I.L.P. has sunk its identity in the Labour Party, whose absorption by the Liberals involves the Independent Labour Party. The Fabian Society does not run candidates on its own, its members being occasionally found among the Liberals. The British Socialist Party had a little flutter at the last General Election, but never, notwithstanding the sweet reasonableness of the attitude they adopted, getting within reach of success. At Burnley, where the candidature of Hyndman has been pressed for many years, where the candidate was the best known among them, and where the programme was watered and coloured to popularise the candidature, the vote was barely more than half the successful Liberal's. Irving at Rochdale, although he trimmed and revised himself almost out of a separate existence, did not come within a third of the number of votes necessary.

Some excuse can be made for candidatures of the hopelessly unsuccessful class when they are propagandist, but the desire to win necessitating such excessive trimming as is undoubtedly indulged in by the B.S.P., prevents excusing them on the ground of propaganda.

The Labour Party in Parliament, which the above facts show to be necessarily but an adjunct to the Liberal party, is officered and bossed by the men who are the self-imposed leaders of "Socialist" thought in this country. Ramsay Macdonald, Keir Hardie, and Philip Snowden are the "brains" of the I.L.P. Ramsay Macdonald is the first of the scientific Socialists, for he himself has said so. He is popularly supposed to be the first example of a Socialist statesman this country has produced. Yet it seems to those of us who can dispassionately view the activities of our masters in the political as well as in other fields, that J. R. Macdonald has manifested no degree of mentality to make us wonder, nothing of faith or power to make us worship. There are many men in the ranks of our avowed opponents who could give him a start and a beating at any test of mentality, and his statesmanship is becoming nauseating even to quite loyal members of his party. So far as he is responsible for the present position of the Labour Party he has little enough to flatter himself with, except that the "new and leaving factor" that was introduced into Parliament in 1906 with such a flourish of trumpets has negotiated itself into the Liberal majority and is lost. Not a fragment remains as a memento of its work, if any, and now its power to do anything for itself and the people it is supposed to represent has vanished with the last shred of its independence, the sooner it is decently buried the better for everyone concerned—except the members.

The sooner the working class of this country learn the lesson the dismal history of this phase of the working-class movement presents the quicker shall we have started on the road to our emancipation. That lesson, surely, is that the position of our representatives in Parliament must be one of absolute independence from any pro-capitalist party, and that such independence must be based upon their hostility to capitalist parties.

The working class, having learnt that capitalist exploitation is the source of their social evils and their enslavement, will seek to emancipate themselves and solve their social problems by the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of Socialism. Parliamentary action

must always be guided by that object, and no compromise with the enemy is possible or desirable. The essential factor is the education of the workers in the principles of Socialism, for on the "rank and file" rests the responsibility of a "leader's" shortcomings.

The failure of the Labour Party to "make good" is useful in showing how it can not be done, but is a useless waste of time to those of us who knew it could not be done that way.

If there are any who even think themselves Socialists left in the I.L.P., it is to be hoped that they will justify themselves by studying the position of the only Socialist party in Great Britain, and so bent themselves to become soldiers in its ranks, there to work for Socialism and Socialism alone. D. K.

LEGAL MURDER.

Not so long ago that section of the Press that professes to be democratic and which is generally engaged in whitewashing the Liberal Government, was pretending to be horrified because once again the troops had been used in defence of the sacred property of the bosses on the Rand. Their leader writers were "astounded" that a Liberal Government could countenance the massacre of working men. They "demanded" an "impartial" enquiry into affairs "which caused every decent Britisher to blush with shame at the deeds perpetrated under the British flag."

And now we have the diabolical outrage repeated—this time nearer home. Not quite so near as Featherstone or Lanely, Liverpool or London—all of which have been the scenes of events that have no doubt conveniently slipped from the memories of the leader writers—but at Dublin, the green city.

It is not proposed here to reprint the tales of horror which have found such wide publicity through other channels and which must still be fresh in the public mind—the tales of brutal budgeoning of women and children, and of the murder of unarmed men. Suffice it to say, in the words of a Government supporter:

"Hundreds of people were injured by the police and two men died as a result of injuries received. Women returning from Mass with prayer books in their hands were grossly assaulted by the police; little girls were thrashed by the police; one girl in her teens was dragged through the streets by the hair of her head and beaten by the police; women were dragged out of their beds and beaten, while lying nearly naked by the police. All these charges have been made and repeated by reliable people."

The "Times" says: "The police deliberately waited for runaways and clubbed them as they ran," and that "the whole proceedings were monstrous and unnecessary."

Reliable witnesses testify that no violence was offered by the crowd and that Nolan, one of the murdered men, was trying to get away when he was struck to the ground by a policeman. "As he fell five Dublin Metropolitan police and two Royal Irish Constabulary struck him. When he tried to get on his knees he was beaten again." A supporter of "law and order"—one who rushed to defend H. H. Asquith, the assassin of Featherstone—Mr. Handel Booth, M.P., says that the police, with pitiless brutality, charged the crowd, which was a perfectly peaceful one.

Radical, ragtime "Reynolds's" is horrified. "Someone should be charged with murder for this," it screeched. How innocent! Someone should have been charged with murder on the Rand, and at Featherstone! At Mitchelstown in 1887 the coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the county inspector and three constables. But what happened? The same as will happen in Dublin and at St. Austell in Cornwall; the same as happened at Featherstone.

An enquiry was held into the affair which has

made the last mentioned place notorious, which whitewashed all concerned, and nothing was done. No action was taken by the Government to attach blame to any of its officers.

The explanation is simple. Those in charge are quite prepared to admit that a mistake has been made, but the mistake is not that the people have been slaughtered. Oh, no!—that happens every day in the pursuit of profit. The blunder is that the workers have been suppressed in such a way as to arouse suspicion and distrust.

The workers have been told that the police are out to "keep the ring," and that the law is for rich and poor alike; but these "incidents" tend to show that the police are maintained to protect private property and the interests of the shareholders of private concerns.

If all that is said is true, those in charge of affairs in Dublin have something to answer for besides which the Marconi ministers' little deal pales into insignificance. Yet we are still waiting to hear a denial of the statements made by a trade union official, Mr. P. T. Daly, that the magistrate, E. G. Swift, and chief prosecutor, Sir Patrick Coll, are shareholders in the Dublin United Tramways Company, and are therefore directly concerned in smashing the strike.

These narrow-minded tradesmen and petty officials are always as putty in the hands of the lords and masters of the land, but when their own petty interests are directly at stake, there is nothing too degrading and brutal for them to do. If it be true that the magistrate who proclaimed the meeting and who tried Larkin, together with the Chief Prosecutor for the Crown and the wife of the Under Secretary for Ireland, to say nothing of certain of the Irish Constabulary, are shareholders in the Dublin United Tramway Company; if it be true that any or all of these were directly concerned in the company against which the men were striking, then the "blunder" is easily understood. Their precious dividends were at stake, and they would risk all their hopes of a front seat in heaven for a few dirty pieces of gold.

In any case the position is clear. As in Africa the workers, struggling against adverse circumstances, faced with worsening conditions, strike for some improvement in their miserable lot, and call a public meeting to discuss these matters. "Under the British flag" both these courses are supposed to be legal. The "right" of free speech is, of course, well known. Yet in Dublin as in Africa, these meetings are proclaimed, in the one case by an interested party, and in the other case by a government under the control of the landlords. Upon the workers attempting to exercise the right they are popularly supposed to possess, a gang of hoodlums, trained to murder, are let loose upon them with baton and bullet.

"The proceedings were monstrous and unnecessary." What a confession! Is it true that they could be monstrous and unnecessary?

The capitalists exist to exploit. Their only concern with the worker is to rob them. They dabble in company shares to get dividends and dividends they must have at all costs. The toilers are not looked upon as aught else than wealth producers, and immediately they threaten to stop producing profit they must be coerced. Why dodge the fact?

We are in the midst of a class war, of a bitter struggle that can know no cessation until the master class are overthrown. Brute force is the last resort, and to brute force the capitalists turn, knowing full well that they hold the master card in the game. The Socialist did not make the struggle, neither does he desire it. But he does appeal to the toilers to take a lesson from these facts and to remember Dublin and Johannesburg, Peterloo and Mitchelstown, Tonypandy and Featherstone, when next they are invited to throw up their caps for the Liberals or any other such murderous crew. TWEL.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR OCTOBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates	11.30 S. Blake	G. Plummer	J. Ward	A. Barker
Prince's Head	7.30 A. Bays	J. G. Stone	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Lobb
Clapham Common	3.30 C. Biggett	J. G. Stone	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn
Edmonton Green	7.30 G. Seech	A. Bays	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	A. Kohn	J. G. Stone	A. Hoskyns
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 J. Brown	C. Gatter	A. Leslie	A. Jacobs
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 J. Le Carte	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	H. Joy
Ilford (Station)	7.30 C. Gatter	B. Young	A. Bays	G. Seech
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	8.0 A. Kohn	A. Timms	A. Gatter	A. Wallis
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 H. King	J. Ward	G. Plummer	W. Lewington
" "	7.30 A. Jacobs	J. Brown	A. L. Cox	A. Timms
Parliament Hill	11.30 J. Ward	H. Cooper	A. Timms	A. Gatter
Peckham Triangle	7.30 F. Stearn	T. W. Lobb	A. Wallis	A. Barker
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 G. Plummer	A. Wallis	T. W. Lobb	J. Ward
Queensway, Kilby Rd., Dulles	12.0 A. Kohn	A. L. Cox	A. Hoskyns	J. G. Stone
Tooting Broadway	11.30 H. Cooper	S. Blake	F. W. Stearn	C. Baggett
" "	7.30 A. Timms	H. Joy	A. Barker	A. Kohn
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Hoskyns	C. Baggett	W. Lewington	C. Elliott
" "	7.30 A. Wallis	A. Anderson	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald
Walham Green Church	7.30 A. Barker	E. Lake	C. Baggett	J. Brown
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 T. W. Lobb	A. Jacobs	B. Young	A. Leslie
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 W. Lewington	H. King	H. Cooper	B. Young
" "	7.30 A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	G. Seech	A. L. Cox
Watford Market Place	7.30 J. Myles	G. Seech	S. Blake	G. Plummer

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
TUESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. 8.30.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.30.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m.
 Amburst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8.30.
 Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 124, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britania-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—All communications care of Gen. Sec., 103 Garsy Inn-rd., W.C.
GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.
ILFORD.—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor, Park. Branch meets alternate Sats. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.
KILBURN.—T. W. Pass, Sec., 4 Cardigan-rd. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, 59 High-rd., Kilburn (side door).
ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.
MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.
MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.0, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.
NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 11.30, at 37 Goldsmith St.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).
PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Sec., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mors. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 94 Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).
TOTTENHAM.—W. Lewington, Sec., 86 Rangemoor Rd. Branch meets Mors. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets alt'e Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King

Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—All communications to J. E. Storey 65, Boleyn-rd., Forest Gate. E. Branch meets alternate Mors. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 469, Green St., Upton Park.
WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Rd., Wood Green. From Aug. 4 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY

OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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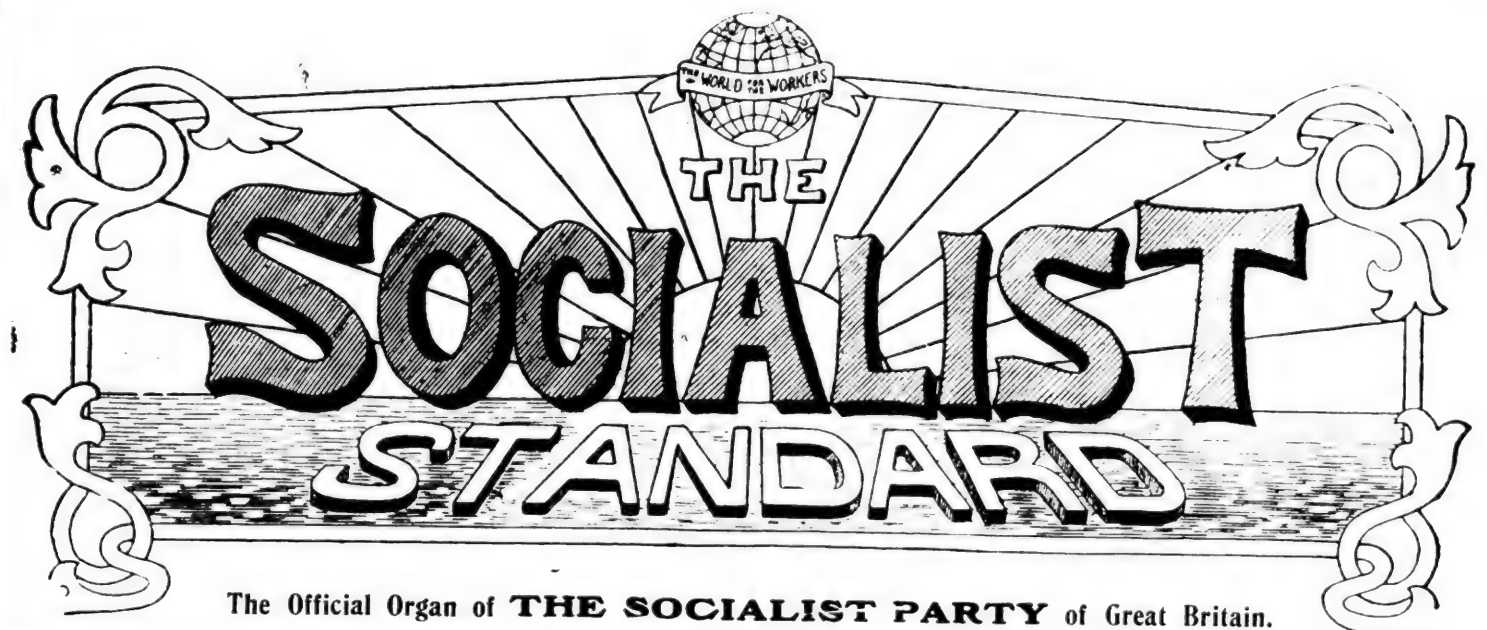
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LONDON, NOVEMBER 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

LLOYD GEORGE'S LAND CAMPAIGN.

ANOTHER LIBERAL SWINDLE.

As long last the Right Honourable Lloyd Jaws, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has made his "great" speech on the Land Question. Many of his followers are disturbed and there is murmuring in the camp, for the promised programme has not been brought forward, and the foolish hopes of those who can learn nothing even from the bitterest of bitter experience have not been realised.

A great and rousing campaign is, however, foreshadowed, and once again Labour is to be bamboozled. Four years ago the Budget was trailed before the workers' eyes, and since then both the Lords' Veto and Home Rule have been dexterously exploited to draw the attention of the workers from the real causes and the only remedy for their poverty-stricken and miserable condition.

But these two wheezes have lost, or soon will lose, their efficacy, while the need for a political red-herring, with the workers' miseries steadily increasing and with the line of class cleavage being so frequently illuminated by police brutality and military massacres, and even more vividly by the wholesale slaughter in preventable mine disasters, was never greater than it is to-day. And apart from this there are other reasons, and even more important ones, perhaps, from the Lloyd-Georgian point of view, for embarking upon this campaign.

In the first place, when the fructification of the Home Rule measure takes from the Liberal camp the bulk of the Irish support it has for so many years ranged behind them, it will be necessary for the Liberal party to find other allies. They can hardly expect the old decoy ducks—the Labour Party—to rise to the occasion, for their impotence in the great Railway and Transport strikes, and their cowardly silence and indifference in the face of working-class butchery at Llanelli, Belfast, Dublin, the Land, and other places, have opened the workers' eyes thoroughly to the fact that the "Labour" representative is nothing but a sneak Liberal. Therefore they must try and turn the scale in the country constituencies by appealing to the farmer and the agricultural labourer.

One more reason. The Liberal party is pre-eminently the political party of the manufacturing capitalists. They play their part well in labour disputes, as history from Featherstone to Dublin shows. Their legislation is in the direction of cheaper and more efficient labour power, as witness their Free Trade policy and their Unemployment Insurance, Labour Exchanges, and other reform measures.

To the industrial capitalist the landowner is a useless parasite. He sits idly by and waits for unearned increment. If the old aristocrat had an overwhelming contempt for "trade," the plutocrats of the factory return that contempt wholeheartedly upon the aristocrat in his capa-

city as landowner. And if the lords of the land at one time thought it nothing less than Divine justice that all the expenses of running the State should fall upon "trade," the manufacturing section of the master class are wide awake to the desirability and the opportunity of imposing the whole burden of taxation upon "the land" to-day.

The present campaign, therefore, besides being a counter-attraction to keep the workers in confusion, and a red-herring to catch the votes of the man on the land, is another blow at land-ownership, not in the interest of the agricultural labourer, or even of the farmer, but of the industrial capitalist. It is an incident in the struggle between rent on the one hand, and profit and interest on the other—and Lloyd George speaks, as he did at the railway "settlement" and elsewhere, for Profit and Interest.

Gradually the Liberal party is getting their followers familiar with the manufacturing capitalists' view of the "land monopoly" and land-lordism, the diabolical wickedness of "unearned increment," and the parasitism of the landowner as such. Gradually they are preparing the way for the final triumph of the industrial capitalists—the placing of all taxes on land.

It is quite clear, however, that as the workers are neither land-owners nor capitalists, as far as the "Land Campaign" is a struggle between these two, they are not interested in it in the slightest degree.

The actual details of the Cabinet's proposals, as far as anything definite has been said, seem to centre around two main points—security for the farmer and a minimum wage for the labourer. There are minor points, such as housing the workers, "fair rents," etc. It is no part of our task to go into the question of security for the farmer, but it is quite easy to see that when the large landowner sees agriculture advancing, the land yielding more, and himself unable to reap the benefit, compensation or no compensation, the farmers will have to go. Bailiffs will take their places, and the landowner will farm the land himself through them.

It is admitted that tenant farmers have only been suffered because the landowner could, in general, rob them of all they produced beyond their living (the statement of Mr. Chiozza Money that "nearly the whole of the farmers of the United Kingdom earn less than £100 per annum" ["Riches and poverty," p. 17] supports this), and to attempt to deprive landowners of this power of robbery, so far from giving the farmer security, will simply turn him into the landlord's bailiff.

Even if the land were nationalised the rent would be maintained, for the industrial capitalist, who in the power in the land are determined that as far as possible and as soon as possible the land shall be in the hands of the

State expenses, either through taxation under private ownership, or through rent under land nationalisation. If the Liberals cared about the "man on the land," and especially about the small "man on the land," they have had ample opportunity of showing it as the landlords of thousands of acres of Crown land. But instead, it is the constant boast of Liberal Ministers, that since their Allotments and Small-holdings Acts have come into force, since, that is, a portion of these lands have been parcelled out to small men, the rent derived from the Crown lands has considerably increased.

Much of the Chancellor's verbiage has been expended upon the old, old cry of increasing the fertility of the soil—making "two blades of grass to grow where one grew before." Of course, if food can be produced with less expenditure of human energy the price would fall, and the immediate effect of this would be to relieve the pressure of the "labour unrest" which is so sorely troubling the capitalists at present, and must do so until wages readjust themselves to the high prices of necessities, or until these prices fall.

As all that is left of the worker's product after he has met the expenses of living, becomes rent, profit, and interest, passes, that is, into the pockets of the exploiting class, it is easy to see how desirable it is, to these Lloyd George-speaks for, for the farmers to produce cheaper food for the workers. To get the farmers "out of the hands of the landowners" (which means, eventually, land nationalisation) and to speed them up (the real purport of the wily Welshman's remarks on what will be done with the bad farmer is just to remove the exploitation of the farmer from the landed gentry to the factory lords. Instead of slaving to swell a noble's rent roll, he is to toil to enable factory lords to feed their human cattle more cheaply.

But does more abundant and therefore cheaper food supplies in the markets mean more food for the workers? If other things remain constant it certainly does. But other things do not remain constant. As Lloyd George himself used to point out (to the masters)—he had a different tale for the workers when he was prosecuting his campaign for National Insurance, the better nourished the workers are, the more can be got out of them—the greater that is, becomes their efficiency and the possibility of intensifying their labour.

Now greater efficiency and intensification means lower required for production and more unemployment. More unemployment means less food as a first result, and greater competition for work and falling wages as a second. Lower wages again means more unemployment and power and less food. So the demand is made that in the long run the cost of food is constant, that is, no more can be got out of the workers than they can give.

fodder concern the horse. In both cases efficiency is necessary to the master, and it is he who must provision it. He will not provide for more than he requires, he food never so cheap or never so dear.

As regards the promised minimum wage Act for farm labourers. We have had samples of Liberal Minimum Wage enactments, and know exactly what value to place upon such promises. But really a Minimum Wage Act in regard to agricultural workers would be no bad stroke for the factory capitalists, and doubtless they know it. Consider the difference between Colonial and English farming—the advanced machinery in use in the former countries compared with the latter. Why are not these perfect machines in common use in this country? Simply because the agricultural worker is so cheap.

To raise agricultural wages, therefore, would but enforce the adoption of more economical machinery. The agricultural worker would be speeded up. He would, by means of improved machinery and methods, be made to produce more in a given time, and since value, and therefore prices in the long run, are not determined by the amount of wages paid to the producer, but by the amount of labour-time needed to produce the goods, food being produced with less labour, will be cheaper—which is what our masters want.

Then, with our rulers straining every nerve to stop the "hemorrhage," to prevent the depletion of the rural population, and even to increase it, the agricultural labourer will find himself, with his "reasonable hours" and "Minimum Wage" (if he gets them) in very much the same stew of competition as his fellows of the factory—made redundant by machinery, and thus made to suffer the hardships of increased unemployment and insecurity.

There is neither alleviation nor remedy for the poverty and misery of the workers of the farm, factory, or workshop in the proposals of this Liberal hack, and the working class are earnestly exhorted by us, their fellow workers and fellow sufferers, to refuse to be led into any enthusiasm for them. The only remedy for the evils which afflict the workers in common—you as well as us—is Socialism. The rich, who are rich because you are poor, and can only be rich so long as they keep you poor, tell you Socialism is wrong; but we, who have nothing to gain except we gain it with you, and who must be poor while you are poor, tell you Socialism is right, and ask you to study it.

A. E. JACOB.

PARTY PARAGRAPHS.

The activities of the Paddington Branch have resulted in the formation of a new branch of the Party at Kilburn (see Branch Directory) and another branch is being formed at North Kensington.

The Peckham Branch resumes its Sunday evening meetings in their hall at 41 Albert Rd., Queen's Rd. on November 2nd, and will continue them throughout the Winter.

The Islington Branch is also arranging a series of indoor meetings.

Classes for the study of Economics and the developing of Speakers should also be organised to employ the spare Winter evenings and prepare propagandists for the fighting line. Although we have now more speakers on the *Lecture List* than ever in the history of the Party, we simply cannot yet supply the demand.

The Nottingham comrades are to be congratulated on a very successful season's propaganda. The local branch is in a healthy and vigorous state, and is developing speakers so as to relieve the drain on London talent, and also to make possible missions to surrounding towns to spread the light. They recently had a splendid example of the cowardice of the enemy. The Socialist (!) Labour (!) Party was holding its annual conference in a room in the town and a few of our comrades approached with a view to entering to listen to and watch the proceedings. They were told, however, that the conference was private—that there was no admittance except to their own members.

This is another example of the undemocratic

character of that party, and may be added to the indictment already given in our Manifesto. Obviously they had something to hide.

As for us, we spurn secret society methods. Our Party, with every Branch, Delegate, Executive Council, Conference, or other meeting open to the public, can fearlessly challenge the closest scrutiny. We are democrats, and with our principles and policy preached and discussed in the open, leadership, bossism, intrigue and treachery are rendered impossible.

Our Nottingham comrades and in fact our members generally, will make full use of this "tactic" of the pseudo Socialists should they ever happen to meet an S.L.P.er.

* * *

Another champion of the confusionist army, namely, Mr. Hawker, of the I.L.P., met his Waterloo at Wealdstone last month, when he engaged in debate with our Comrade Wilkins, of Watford. Wilkins, at a minute's notice, deputised for our appointed representative (who was prevented from keeping his engagement) and had no difficulty in demolishing the case put up by the I.L.P.er against Socialism. Some of the audience were under the impression that Mr. Hawker represented the Anti-Socialist Union, but that was not so. He was, at the time of the debate a member of the I.L.P.

* * *

The Watford comrades, encouraged by their success at Wealdstone, etc., have attacked Harrow. There, on Sunday evenings, the fight for Socialism is waged—waged, however, in this case against great opposition.

No sooner had our Party established its meeting place than the Anti-Suffragettes, the Anti-Socialist Union, and latterly the Carman's Trade Union, were rushed on the scene, completely blockading the thoroughfare with a dense mass of shouting humanity, and leaving the police no alternative but to close down the meetings or arrest the lot for causing obstruction.

Now these are dirty tactics and weak OPPOSITION TO SOCIALISM, but the increasing demand for our literature and the support given us generally by the workers of Harrow may yet enable us to win. Wait and see!—developments are pending. The victory won at Gravesend may be excelled at Harrow. At Gravesend in the beginning of the season all meetings were to be stopped. The Labour Party, the Anti-Socialist Union, the Liberals, the Tories, etc., agreed to forego the privilege of meetings at the Clock Tower—WE WOULD NOT. And now those other parties have returned on different evenings in the week to take advantage of our successful stand. At Harrow why cannot those other parties choose another spot or another night to lay their "views" before the people?

* * *

In North London a Clarion Van was recently noticed with a Mr. Whitehead speaking from it. At Wood Green the speaker was advocating buying out the mines by putting sixpence a ton on the price of coal, taking the land on the hire purchase system, denouncing violence and preaching "no resistance," deprecating strikes as selfish because, in his opinion, some workers could only gain at the expense of the others, and generally playing the goat. Of course, his audience were above that sort of piffle, and on the night of our regular meeting he could not keep a meeting together, so he had to give it up. He published a pitiful wail in the "Clarion," and the next week followed it up with a lying attack upon this Party. He said that at Tottenham he broke the law of the Clarion Van Committee and invited one of our members to oppose him on the van and our man declined. *It is not true*, and we have written the "Clarion" on the matter, but they are silent. If Mr. Whitehead is ready we are, at any time and place. Let him come out into the open instead of firing from the cover of the cowardly columns of the "Clarion," that will not publish replies. Come out onto the public platform, Whitehead, or into the columns of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*—where we are not afraid to give the enemy their chance—or for ever hold your stupid, lying tongue.

* * *

Comrades, if the days grow cold the fight grows warm, so you can keep your coats off.

O.

FRANCHISE QUESTIONS.

WE have received the following questions from Mr. John Drysdale. Our reply is appended.

- (1) Would you kindly let me know your attitude toward Adult Suffrage?
- (2) Do you think the working class have a majority at the ballot box with the franchise they have now?
- (3) Do you think the working class should use the franchise they have got in their own interests before the Socialist Party should fight for more?

(1) Our attitude towards Adult Suffrage is as follows:

While Adult Suffrage would be a useful measure for the working class, to enable them to more quickly and completely take control of political power when they understand how to use their votes, yet as the working class have a franchise wide enough for the initial steps of their emancipation, it is not the business of a Socialist Party to spend time and energy in advocating the extension of that franchise, but to educate the workers in how to use the voting power which they already possess; hence the business of a Socialist Party is to advocate Socialism only.

(2) The working class are overwhelmingly in the majority at the ballot box, as is shown by the following figures:

According to "White Paper" No. 478 on "Parliamentary Constituencies (electors)" for 1913, there are 8,058,025 voters on the Register. Of these 4,895,840 are in the Counties and 3,111,062 in the Boroughs, while the remaining 51,123 are University electors.

In the Counties the Owners number 637,608, the Occupiers 4,086,829, and the Lodgers 171,402.

In the Boroughs the Freeholders and Free-men number 54,854, Occupiers 2,824,923, and Lodgers 231,285.

It may be accepted that the Owners, Freeholders, and University electors are members of the capitalist class. They number 743,585.

The Lodgers may be taken as members of the working class, the few exceptions to the contrary in this case being probably balanced by the few very small property owners in the first case, and they number 402,687.

We have left, the Occupiers, who number 6,911,752. Who are the Occupiers? An answer is found by looking at the rent of private houses as given in the In. Rev. Report. Of the 1,473,214 houses that come under their survey only 1,088,631 are of the yearly rental of £25 and upwards. It is a poor capitalist whose house is not estimated at more than £25 per annum, while plenty of slum property is rented above this amount. In addition, many houses that are let out in tenements are returning a total rental of £60 or £70 a year. Still others are Occupiers under the Service Franchise who are servants.

We will, however, suppose that all the occupiers of Houses of £25 and upwards are members of the capitalist class, even then we get:

Total Electorate	8,058,025
Owners, Freeholders, University Electors and Capitalist Occupiers	1,832,216
Working-class Occupiers & Lodgers	6,225,809
Or more than 3 to 1.	

(3) Certainly. In whose interest should they use it if not in their own? It would be absurd to urge them to use it in anyone else's interest.

J. F.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
 "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
 "Freedom" (London).
 "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
 "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
 "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
 "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
 "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
 "International News Letter" (Berlin).

MARX AND HIS TRADUCERS.

Nothing hurts the master class more than the truth. This is not to be wondered at when we consider that for the upkeep of the present system of society, lying, cant, and hypocrisy are almost as important as force itself. How the master class will spend their money on political, religious, and philanthropic movements, which exist for the purpose of misleading the workers! Capitalist society would not last long if the people understood their social position in the true light.

None knew this better than Karl Marx, the pioneer of modern Socialism. By his analysis of the methods of capitalist production, and his exposition of the law of social development, he gave capitalist philosophy and criticism their death-blow.

At first capitalist representatives, together with the pseudo-Socialists, treated Marx, if not with silent contempt, at all events with dumb respect. But when it was seen that his teachings were being spread broadcast amongst the class who had everything to gain from their dissemination, these misrepresenters of the truth had to abandon their policy of silence, and bestir themselves to promulgate a false, perverted Marxism.

One of the sycophants engaged in this business of misrepresentation is John Spargo, who has written a work entitled: "Karl Marx, his Life and Work." He opens out by discrediting a work on Marx by the man who, next to Engels, was most intimate with the great Socialist philosopher—a work, moreover, which Spargo quotes more often than any other in his own book. The work referred to is Liebknecht's "Biographical Memoirs of Marx."

Spargo's objections to this book are two-fold. Firstly, he contends that Liebknecht errs when he says that Marx's father left the Hebrew faith for the Christian for the sake of official position. Secondly he asserts that Liebknecht is wrong when he claims that Karl Marx's life was a revenge against his father's act in renouncing Judaism.

As regards the first point, although it is attested by those most qualified to judge, including Karl Marx's daughter (as Spargo admits) yet our bold author, to reconcile his views with those of the Christian "Socialists," says that Marx's father, who was previously of the Hebrew persuasion, became a disciple of Rousseau and Liebnitz, changed his religion, because he sincerely believed in the Christian faith.

How well it speaks for Christianity that a man of the intellect and calibre of Marx's father should see the noble purity of the Christian religion! Yet how remarkable it is that he changed his religion at the very opportune time when a law was passed that none but Christians could hold official positions!

Mr. Spargo's next point is really too absurd. Liebknecht certainly meant that Marx's teaching is the deadly enemy of religion—and none but perverters can say otherwise.

The main idea of Spargo in writing the book—and of the capitalists in booming it—is to make an idol of Karl Marx by proving that he stood for the policy of opportunism. Because Marx endeavoured to get the workers of all lands together through an international organisation, so that they might discuss matters and formulate schemes, and because, with such an object in view, and the circumstances and conditions of the time, when his views were known to very few indeed, he acted in a manner such as those circumstances demanded, Spargo affects to believe that a similar course of action is needed at the present day, and would be advocated by Marx were he now living.

How singular it is, though, that at a later date than the "International," this same Marx fought so sternly against the amalgamation of the Eisenachers with the Lassallians in which his unerring judgment has been confirmed by the lapse of years! The so-called German Social-Democratic Party is reactionary, and all its votes don't make it otherwise.

Marx's work with the International Working-men's Association was glorious. It gave emphasis to the idea that the workers, to bring their battle to a successful issue, must be organised internationally. And to-day, with the

development of the capitalist system, society has reached the stage where it is rotten to the core. Reforms cannot help. Opportunist methods are false and useless. Years of opportunism have not bettered the condition of the workers, have not brought the toilers any nearer to their emancipation. Nothing but opposition to the capitalist class everywhere and at all times can ensure success.

Perhaps the most amusing part of the book is that portion in which it is claimed that Marx was the most misrepresented and misunderstood of men. When it is considered how utterly unscrupulously he is misrepresented in the book under notice the delicious irony of this is fully appreciated. John Spargo's own words will best serve to illustrate this.

On page 14 we read: "No man has been more grievously misunderstood and misrepresented than Karl Marx," while on page 331 we have: "Marx was, in fact, a good deal of an opportunist, and of the two wings of the present day Socialist movement, popularly denoted as 'Opportunist' and 'Impossibilist' respectively, the former is much more truly Marxian than the latter, at least in its fundamental principles. In its application of these principles the opportunist wing of the present-day Socialist movement may at times cease to be Marxist, or even Socialist of any description, being scarcely or not at all distinguishable from bourgeois reformers. Theoretically they are Marxists as regards political tactics, but Marx, opportunist as he was, never ceased to be first and foremost a Socialist and a revolutionist."

But whilst Marx "never ceased to be first and foremost a Socialist and a revolutionist," the opportunist wing of the "present-day Socialist movement," Mr. Spargo tells us, "may cease to be Marxist, or even Socialist of any description, being scarcely or not at all distinguishable from bourgeois reformers." Truly, the man who attempts to reconcile these two attitudes has good ground to complain of other people misrepresenting Marx.

Again our author says on page 121: "Many shallow-minded Socialists claim that the more the workers are oppressed the more likely are they to revolt, and the sooner they are reduced to abject misery the sooner will they rise and overthrow the existing social order."

Now if anyone depends for success upon the poverty of the people more than others it is the opportunists and sentimentalists. Instead of educating the workers in Socialism they are always appealing on behalf of the starving children, the crippled, the unemployed, etc. "Send us to Parliament and we shall see them right!" they plead, thinking of themselves and the flesh-pots all the time.

Only the Socialist Party of Great Britain realise the situation. Despite reforms the condition of the mass of the people tends to become worse, and it is up to us to teach them *now*, not when it is too late, their status in society, so that the workers may consciously organise to overthrow capitalist society and introduce in its stead the Socialist regime.

Spargo has a knack of quoting private letters written by Marx to his friends as if they were meant to have public importance, and as if they stood for all time as well thought out theories. It seems necessary to remind our author that it is essential to know exactly the other side of the correspondence, as well as the whole nature of the argument, before it is possible for one to give a correct judgment on the matter. For instance, letters from Kugelmann are quoted without our knowing what the latter had said. This is a pretty method of putting into Marx's mouth words to support the opportunist policy.

Speaking about Hyndman Spargo says in effect that we "should not drag Hyndman's actions of the past into consideration; if Marx could only see the splendid work that Hyndman has done on behalf of the Socialist movement he would be sorry for what he had said about him." The present writer thinks different. The fact remains that Hyndman is no Socialist. He thinks too much of the safety of capitalist England and capitalist heroes to be of any value to the working class movement.

In placing Marx in the Ricardian school Spargo's sole object is to twist him into a supporter of the false, futile, and distinctly reactionary and anti-Marxian policy of opportunism.

L. M.

PADDINGTON GOING STRONG.

It has long been realised by the Paddington members that there existed in the surrounding districts ample material to work upon and thereby extend the Party's influence, the only barrier being the lack of speakers. Finding ourselves continually bombarded with inquiries as to when we intended opening up these sources for Socialism, we determined to meet this insistent demand for the Party's propaganda with a series of week's meetings at selected venues. Operations were therefore commenced at Kilburn, which duly materialised into an energetic branch that has completely pulverised the wobbly opposition formerly entrenched in the locality.

Fortified by that triumph, we made tracks for North Kensington, where further conquests were made. Our speakers had no difficulty in effectively smothering the smattering interruptions of the local illiterates, and the large audiences that nightly assembled showed that the time was never more opportune for the establishment of a branch of the Party.

That treacherous section of the Anti Socialist brigade, the B.S.P., till recently had a motley following, and to hasten the millenium they put up their chief mesmeriser as "Socialist" candidate for the General Election to come. The local sheets commented on the "self sacrifice of this well known gentleman," and unkindly suggested that the prospect of £400 a year should bring forth quite a crop of budding M.P.s. The campaign was opened by inviting the constituents to nibble at a mish-mash of social reform. Street-corner harangues were held extolling the candidate's virtues, and for a while it looked as if the day of universal emancipation was at hand. Then dissension arose over his "programme," recriminations were flung about, the "rankers" began to revile their "leader" and renounce his unofficial candidature, and the branch went "nap."

So we concluded that it was our duty to get our platform out and explain why it is the B.S.P., so-called, is anti working class right through. This was done, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our week's mission will fructify into a branch of our organisation.

In North Paddington an agitation is being worked up against the M.P. because he happens to be a foreigner. In spite of his Tory views and Tariff Reform ideas he is anathema to the local patriots because, to use their own words, "he is no good; he does nothing for the working man." Well, this is what we have said for quite a long time. If anything is to be done for the working class, that class has got to do it itself. Millionaire Parliamentarians have not the remotest intention of abolishing unemployment and poverty. They are in Parliament to conserve their own privileges and power. Therefore we call on the working class to organise in the Socialist Party for the capture of this stronghold of capitalism.

Our itinerary for 1914 embraces the N.W. corner of London, but this cannot be successfully accomplished unless those who earnestly desire to see the fall of ignorance rent asunder by the spreading of scientific Socialism come inside and get on with the business. "The harvest, truly, is plentiful, but the labourers are few."

BEN CARTERS.

"SOCIALISM TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.E.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free

Our foundation, the members of the Royal Society to the frontiers of Nature, knowledge,

would have asked Sir Oliver Lodge to "bring in" an experiment or a specimen in proof of his beliefs, his phrases, and suppositions about "discarnate intelligences," and in their absence would have declined to let him occupy their time. And they would have done this, and did so act, in regard to similar talkers of their day, such as Sir Kenelm Digby, not because they denied the possibility of the existence of ghosts and "such wild fowl" (many of them firmly believed in such existences), but because they had discovered that the great principle of investigation and the building up of knowledge is the requirement of demonstrative evidence of things asserted, and the rejection of mere statements of belief or fancy, whosoever may proffer them.

Sir Oliver makes an urgent appeal in favour of the plausibility of ghosts. He omits to state or consider the real objection which all reasonable men entertain to a belief in the existence of ghosts—namely, that the President of the British Association has not, any more than have other such believers, brought forward a particle of experimental evidence in favour of it. The best evidence forthcoming is not sufficient to induce a normal man to bet five pounds on the successful demonstration of a ghost's existence against five thousand offered on the other side.

With the complete domination of capitalist industry the need for the British Association, or its equivalent, as a fighting unit against religious or feudal antagonism has passed, and reconciliation is in the air. But the chief point I wish to make is that this supposed conciliation is with a different religion to the old. Religious advocates now plume themselves on their science, and endeavour to nourish their superstitions on the barren nothingness of the regions where scientific knowledge ends, and this is well brought out by D.K. Moreover, among healthy humans with scientific education, such religion as they profess is in the main sheer hypocrisy. The university educated clergyman will—to his equals, and in expensive reviews—embrace science, discard miracles, deny the six day legend, and even the divinity of Christ, and will praise the Bible solely as a store of moral lessons from early human history; but to the ignorant and unscientific majority the same man will preach, pray, chant, bless and thunder as though all the old superstitions were strong and hot within him, and will try to maintain these superstitions undiminished in his flock. Despite however, this widespread hypocrisy, it is really religion that has weakened, not science.

Capitalist industrial processes breed knowledge. Competition and profit-bunger make education inevitable; and this education, particularly when coupled with class interest, drives religion further into the clouds, and determines capitalist philosophy. The ruling class is verily between the devil and the deep, blue sea. It wishes (and tries) to maintain religion as an aid to its domination, but is compelled to take a hand in its destruction by the spread of an education that is essential to industrial progress and profit. With most of this D.K., as indicated in his article, agrees. But I do not fully agree with his suggestion that it is the scientists who have gone back. The religious crowd have come forward; as to the scientist—well, he "never was!" On many points the economic position of the scientists compels them to be stagnant, but I think it is, to say the least, a debatable point whether they are less materialistic than formerly. Certainly all biologists of eminence have completely abandoned the vitalistic or ghost theory of life so pathetically dressed up in modern phraseology by Rip Van Winkle Lodge. Like Laplace, when asked by Napoleon where God came in according to his theory, the biologists also say they have no need for that hypothesis.

It is scarcely necessary to say that on most points I am in complete agreement with the writer of the article. If the economists are taken as representative of scientists in general, I must grant D.K. his whole case. Indeed, on reading again what I have written, I perceive that on my own showing respecting the protagonists of physical science he has not at all a bad case; but I send this contribution to the discussion nevertheless in the hope of evoking further evidence from D.K.'s point of view on what is an interesting and useful point of Socialist knowledge.

Yours fraternally,
"CRAFTSMAN."

RATES AND TAXES AGAIN.

J. HURLE (Walthamstow) (1) Your quota-

tion from Philip Snowden only adds to the mass of evidence proving him to be a charlatan. Whilst here he states that the "food taxes" are a pressing burden on the workers, he enthusiastically referred to Lloyd George's 1909 Budget as "my Budget." Apart from this, his statement is worthless, as food prices are governed, like those of all other commodities, by the amount of labour embodied in the articles, modified by supply and demand.

(2) The recent Board of Trade Report is eloquent of the great rise in prices, even though, as contemporary politics show, taxes have been continually reduced in the same period.

(3) Your quotation from Prof. Ashley's "Economic History of England" is certainly useful evidence of the truth of our position, and as you say, serves to show the bourgeois nature of the Labour Party's agitation.

(4) Competition would doubtless reduce the price of tea if the tax was removed, and it is quite true that an inflated price and profit in the tea industry would attract more capital, with the inevitable result of over-supply and consequent reduction in price.

(5) The Railway Companies' 4 per cent. increase in goods traffic rates subsequent to the strike proves rather than disposes of our statement. Prior to the strike the railway companies were sternly opposed to any increase of wages, but when they made a tardy and well-manipulated "concession," they immediately demanded Parliamentary sanction for an increase in freight rates. In other words the increased wages bill was the excuse and not the reason.

The workers are not interested in freight rates, as can be verified by recalling the heated attack by manufacturers in Parliament upon the Railway Rates Bill. They felt the pinch, hence they yelled.

(6) Your extract from "Justice" is quite contrary to the position maintained by E. Belfort Bax and H. Queleh in the "Socialist Catechism" and elsewhere: viz., that rates are of interest to the propertied class alone. It illustrates the confusion that is created by the B.S.P. The idea that every increase can be "passed on" to the workers is ridiculous. The workers buy back but one-third of their produce, hence even the "pass on" theory, if there were anything in it, would affect the masters most.

(7) Tattler's advice to a correspondent that the incidence of taxes is of little importance to our class is, after the cry about the railway rates in "Justice," just about the limit. Mystification, not education, is evidently their policy.

A. K.

WHO SAID WAR?

I SUPPOSE the readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, without exception, understand the object of its publication. A perusal of its pages leaves no doubt. The position of the "Daily Chronicle" toward the workers, however, is not so clear. The "Daily Chronicle" represents, faithfully and consistently, that section of the capitalist class known as the Liberal party. It supports the present Government's every action, even to the shooting of strikers and bludgeoning of women and children. Its function in the political game of make believe is to kid the workers into thinking that their interests are identical with those of the capitalists.

The point I wish to explain, however, is this. The "D.C." has been telling the workers what the Socialist Party have been hammering home for years, but the article to which I am going to refer was certainly never seriously intended for working-class digestion. But a paper that aspires to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds finds itself in no enviable position when here and hounds meet—as in the case of a strike or a lock-out.

The "D.C." tells us that a new organisation has been formed, called "The United Kingdom Employers' Defence Union," the object of which is to raise a fund of £50,000,000 for the purpose of resisting strikes, and, if possible, of forcing the repeal of the Trade Union Dispute Act. Commenting on this the "Daily Chronicle" said (Sept. 26):

"The specious phraseology in which the in-

spired announcement of the Union's formation is couched, does not conceal its real object, which is to fight trade unionism. From that point of view we regard the formation of the Union as an ill-omened move. It looks very like a deliberate challenge to the trade unions."

Now, if Capital and Labour are on such terms of affection as we are led to believe, will the "D.C." tell us whatever made the idea enter the heads of our masters that it was necessary to form a union to fight its "closest friend and ally, Labour?" And also why working men should find it necessary to band themselves into a union for the purpose of fighting the masters. Talk of affection and unity of interests! Why are workers willing to take the risk of being starved, battered, butchered, by the minions of a merciless master class, if it is not because of warring interests?

Hear what the "Daily Chronicle" says regarding the new organisation:

"For what does its formation mean? It means in the eyes of those who support it, that the normal terms between Capital and Labour in this country are relations of bitter hostility, war, not peace. Most happily, this is not true."

Evidently Thorold Rogers was wrong when he wrote: "Of all the wars that have been waged, none has been so bitter and long as that between Capital and Labour." The trouble is, with the "D.C.," that the adoption of a definitely antagonistic policy by the masters would cause the workers to become class-conscious. Arbitration, or in other words, bluff and bun-kum, is the favourite method of the "Chronicle," and the Liberal party generally.

Commenting upon the workers' unions the "D.C." said:

"Trade Unionism has helped to make for appeasement and reconciliation. It has enabled Labour to meet Capital on something like equal terms."

Something like equal terms! Again:

"Capital has an equal right with Labour to protect its own interests. An equal right, yes, but not an equal need. Trade unionism is simply the banding together of workmen in an association that serves as a counterpoise to the loose but effective combination of Capital. In recent years combinations of employers have become more precise and rigid, and the power of capital has enormously increased. What rubbish it is to talk of an 'Employers' Defence Union'! Defence against what? In nearly every great industry in the land the employers are already united in compact organisations, and act together in arranging wages and conditions of work with trade union officials. These employers welcome the co-operation of trade union leaders. They do not want a 'Defence Union': they are well able to defend themselves."

"Something like equal terms"! Very rich, this. With regard to the collective bargaining with the trade union leaders, this gives to the masters a degree of security, and enables them to keep the function of the political machine in the background. Quoting Adam Smith, the "Chronicle" proves conclusively the helplessness of the workers to strike effectually against the masters.

"A landlord, a farmer, a manufacturer or merchant, though they don't employ a single workman, could generally live a year or two on stocks which they have already acquired. Many workmen could not subsist a week: few could subsist a month, and scarce any a year without employment."

I do not know, of course, but that certainly reads like a taunt at Syndicalist and Anarchist action. Starvation certainly seems a serious stumbling block in the path of the Syndicalist movement. The only hope of victory lies in the capture of the political machine, and through that the control of the forces by which the system is maintained. Join with us, then, in the Socialist Party: whose object it is to educate the workers to class-consciousness, and to organise them for the overthrow of the system of wage-slavery, and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

J. R.

Active propaganda—pushing the "S.S."

JOTTINGS.

ANOTHER "useful" member of the class which "provides the capital with which to employ labour" (to use a favourite expression of the anties) has just passed away in the person of Mr. Peter Coats, of the well known cotton thread combine. According to "Reynolds's," "Mr. Coats was a model millionaire. He indulged in no lavish display. He was a courteous and kind-hearted gentleman. He did not gain his wealth by grinding down his workers. And he has left a third of his estate to charitable purposes."

How was his wealth gained, then? "Reynolds's" does not say. Are we to assume that the Paisley workers were equally kind-hearted, and that they allowed this "model millionaire" to retain their share for them, secure in the belief that they would get it back some day in the shape of charity? To the writer, from his knowledge of wealth production under capitalism, it would appear that he had been kindest of all to himself.

* * *

Wherever increases of pay have been granted, from whatever circumstances, it is safe to affirm that the first thought of the masters has been: "How to get it back." Whilst all are agreed on the process known as "squeezing," they differ, of course, in method. How it is done may be seen by citing the case of the Standard Mill Co. at Oldham, who were prosecuted quite recently. Their speciality was "time-cribbing," and operated as follows:

Instead of stopping the machinery at the proper time each day at the dinner hour, it was allowed to run for four minutes longer. Carried on to this extent, it meant that the wage earners worked two weeks in the year for nothing! It was pointed out that in a case like this, if they could get two weeks a year in "time-cribbing," it would mean a special profit of £600 a year! And this is only one way of getting it back!

* * *

"Reynolds's" (21.9.13) announces that "Mr. Lloyd George has just refused an offer of £20,000 to visit Australia and deliver ten speeches on the progress of social reform in England."

The "Daily Citizen" thinks that "the Chancellor is far too busy a man to undertake a trip of this distance."

Yes! Mr. Lloyd George must be busy indeed if twenty thousand jimmy o'goblins won't tempt him. Are there greater incentives to remain on this side? or is it that the Labour Party can't spare him now that Ramsay has gone to India again? I have known far smaller sums than that tempt many people—labour "leaders," too! Who does not remember our beautiful "Socialist" countess taking a trip to America last year in order to deliver a series of lectures, for each of which, according to the Press, she was to receive no less a sum than £300?

Other instances could be quoted. Though there may have been no truth in the rumour that went round the Press recently to the effect that "a well-known Socialist had netted £12,000 (!) by selling stock on inside information, yet it is plainly apparent that it pays some people to be in the "movement."

* * *

An informal conference has been held in London between Emile Vandervelde and Camille Huysmans, of the International Socialist Bureau, and representatives of the I.L.P., the Fabian Society, and the B.S.P. for the purpose of inaugurating a scheme for amalgamating those bodies so as to bring about "Socialist" unity in this country.

The B.S.P. welcomed this, to the surprise of those in the I.L.P. But what was the alternative if it wished to save its face?

Itself the result of a project of "Socialist Unity," it has been a failure ever since it was launched two years ago. It was stated then that the B.S.P. would be formed of I.L.P., S.D.P., Fabians, and Church Socialist Leaguers (the "Clarion," 18.8.11)—the same elements that are now seeking co-operation!

They can't quite stomach having to affiliate

with the Labour Party, but "needs must when the devil drives." And all this confabulation in order to determine just who stands for Socialism in this country!

Of course the joke is that there has been a Socialist Party in existence for some years. It was formed in 1901, and bears the same name that it bore at its formation. The Socialist Party of Great Britain. Standing definitely for Socialism, and imbued only with those principles which correctly determine the attitude of an organised working class, it contains none of the discordant elements which go to make up what is known as Fabianism, I.L.Pism, or B.S.Pism.

So far in the proceedings toward "unity," its co-operation has not been solicited. To avoid possible misunderstanding, however, allow me to state that we are not open to invitation.

* * *

That was a good point against his own case that Ben Tillett made when he declared at the recent Syndicalist Congress that "Sir Edward Carson is a legal, political and economical, and racial Syndicalist." It destroys the theory that Syndicalism can be a working-class weapon in the fight for emancipation by making the capitalist class themselves eligible for membership. It is a complete negation of the economic fact that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are diametrically opposed.

The fact that Tillett is also a member of the B.S.P., and thereby committed to Parliamentary action, only adds to the confusion caused by this Cinquevalli of the workers' movement.

* * *

"We ought never to take subscriptions from people who make their money out of the life-blood of poor girls." So says the Bishop of London to the Fulham Ladies Association. But does the bishop really mean what he says? For the day that the Church refuses to accept contributions from the exploiting class that day the Church goes out of business.

Parsons, as a rule, argue "up in the air." Whenever they elect to make a pronouncement bearing on the "social problem," they assume such a profound knowledge of the subject that papers of the "Daily Citizen" are kidded into giving prominence to the rubbish they talk and write.

The Vicar of Burtonwood, Lancashire, has been letting himself go. He knows something about economics. Here is some: "There is none other landowner but God" (Lloyd George please take note). "Land monopoly, from the Scripture standpoint, is robbery of God." From the Socialist standpoint land (and every other) monopoly, implies robbery of the producers. The holy "problem" solvers will not have that, however. It means disaster and extinction for them.

* * *

What is a workman? Whether it was a lack of knowledge of capitalist development, or a feeling that he was a budding capitalist, that prompted a Stratford engineer named Turner to refuse to take out an unemployment book under the Insurance Act, passes me to understand. But whatever the cause, it landed him in the Police Court, where the magistrate settled the question of his place in society for him to the tune of £1 and costs.

It seems that Turner had some money of his own, and this, along with the fact that he was in charge of an engineering department, evidently created the impression in his mind that he should not be classed as a workman. So he refused to take out a book under the Act, with the aforesaid result.

Though he apparently did not know it, he was as much a workman as the lowest paid labourer under him. He belonged to what Marx would call "a special kind of wage-labourer"—that section of the working class known as managers, foremen, supervisors, etc., but workers, nevertheless.

Suppose an accident had happened to any process under his charge, would the masters have taken the blame? Not likely! Who but he? And who is it but the workers take the blame on almost every occasion? Simply because they are right on the job. A passage from Marx's "Capital" will clinch the point.

"All combined labour on a large scale requires more or less a directing activity in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs."

So that we see it matters not whether a man is a low paid labourer or a highly paid manager: he is a worker, and as such is useful to the capitalist for the purpose of exploitation.

TOM SALA.

BY THE WAY.

Whilst emigration agents and others persist in their endeavours to lure workers with their glowing description of the lands across the seas, the true state of things occasionally leaks out in the most unexpected quarters. In the "Odd-fellows' Magazine" for October appears a letter from Canada, headed: "A Warning." It proceeds:

"We, the officers and members of the Order in Ontario, wish to inform the members of the Order in Great Britain that work is very hard to obtain at present in Canada, and to warn them against coming to this country."

The same old story of unemployment and poverty for those who do the work of the world.

* * *

Two most extraordinary placards were to be seen on the same day side by side. If the printer will oblige, this is how they appeared:

£100,000	100,000
ROYAL	STARVING
WEDDING	IN
PRESENTS.	DUBLIN.

How true is the quotation: "He owns my life who owns the means whereby I live." When the workers begin to think and to recognise this simple truth, they will commence to act, and to act intelligently. The S.P.G.B. alone points out the way of working-class salvation. Then no longer will our highways and byways be made hideous with such incongruous specimens of the typographical art.

* * *

Mr. McKenna addressed his constituents a week or so ago, and during his speech he told his audience that "a number of measures advocated by Labour Members were passed by the Liberal Government, and said that those who called themselves the Labour Party were no more the Labour Party than he was. He had represented Labour ever since he sat for North Monmouthshire, and he would represent Labour until the end of his days."

("Daily Mail," 9.10.13.)

It is to be hoped that the workers fully appreciate the endeavours of this gent and his official party, including the tail end occasionally known as the Labour Party, on their behalf. In this connection it is worth while to remember that it was this Rt. Hon. gent who stated in the House that:

"There are now at the docks 8,000 men at work under protection, and I observe with some satisfaction that the Chairman of the Dock Committee of the Port Authority stated that the Port Authority had received more protection for labour from the present Home Secretary than they had ever received from any previous Home Secretary." ("Daily Herald," 14.6.12.)

It is unnecessary to quote more of the words of Mr. McKenna, to show that he has not represented the workers. All his acts go to show that he is in Parliament in the interests of the capitalist class, and "those who pay the piper call the tune." Nevertheless, when Mr. McKenna says he is as much Labour Party as the Labour Party, he is well within the confines of truth. It is a very obvious case of "birds of a feather."

THE SCOT.

Replies to J. Sutherland are unavoidably held over.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR NOVEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	2nd.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 R. Bruce	A. Barker	S. Blake	G. Seech	C. Baggett
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. Timms	C. Baggett	A. Kohn	A. Wallis	H. Joy
Finsbury Park	7.30 T. W. Lobb	A. Hoskyns	G. Plummer	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Timms	A. Anderson	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Anderson	C. Baggett	H. Joy	J. G. Stone
Ilford (station)	7.30 A. L. Cox	J. Brown	H. King	A. Leslie	A. Bays
Kilburn, Priory Pl. Rd.	8.0 S. Blake	J. Myles	A. Bays	A. Kohn	A. Barker
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 H. King	J. Ward	G. Seech	A. Jacobs	A. Leslie
Parliament Hill	7.30 J. Brown	A. L. Cox	A. W. Pearson	A. Bays	A. Timms
Peckham, 11 Albert Rd.	11.30 F. W. Stearn	G. Seech	J. Ward	S. Blake	W. Lewington
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Fitzgerald	J. Fitzgerald	J. Fitzgerald	J. Fitzgerald
Redington, Prince of Wales	11.30 C. Elliot	A. W. Pearson	J. Brown	R. Bruce	A. Wallis
Redington, Prince of Wales	12.0 A. Jacobs	G. Plummer	A. Hoskyns	C. Baggett	A. Kohn
Redington, Prince of Wales	11.30 H. Cooper	S. Blake	A. Barker	J. Ward	E. Lake
Redington, Prince of Wales	7.30 A. Barker	R. Bruce	A. L. Cox	C. Elliott	C. Baggett
Redington, Prince of Wales	11.30 C. Baggett	A. Hoskyns	C. Elliott	A. Anderson	G. Plummer
Redington, Prince of Wales	7.30 A. Wallis	A. Kohn	J. G. Stone	A. Cox	A. Hoskyns
Redington, Prince of Wales	7.30 H. Joy	A. Timms	A. Barker	C. Elliott	C. Baggett
Redington, Prince of Wales	8.0 G. Seech	W. Lewington	A. Wallis	A. Timms	R. Bruce
Redington, Prince of Wales	11.30 W. Lewington	F. Stearn	R. Bruce	A. Plummer	G. Seech
Redington, Prince of Wales	7.30 A. Bays	C. Elliott	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson
Redington, Prince of Wales	7.30 J. G. Stone	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	T. W. Lobb

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's 8.30 p.m.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, Palatine Road, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 124, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 83 Britania-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—All communications care of Gen. Sec., 193 Grays Inn-rd., W.C.
GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.
ILFORD.—W. Holt Secretary, 3 George Street, Barking. Branch meets alternate Sundays at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.
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MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.
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PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).
PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Sec., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 8, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Monds. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 94 Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Terminus Social Club near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting.
TOTTENHAM.—W. Lewington, Sec., 80 Rangemoor Rd. Branch meets Monds. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets alt'e Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King

Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—All communications to J. E. Storey 65, Boleyn-rd., Forest Gate, E. Branch meets alternate Monds. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 459, Green St., Upton Park.
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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

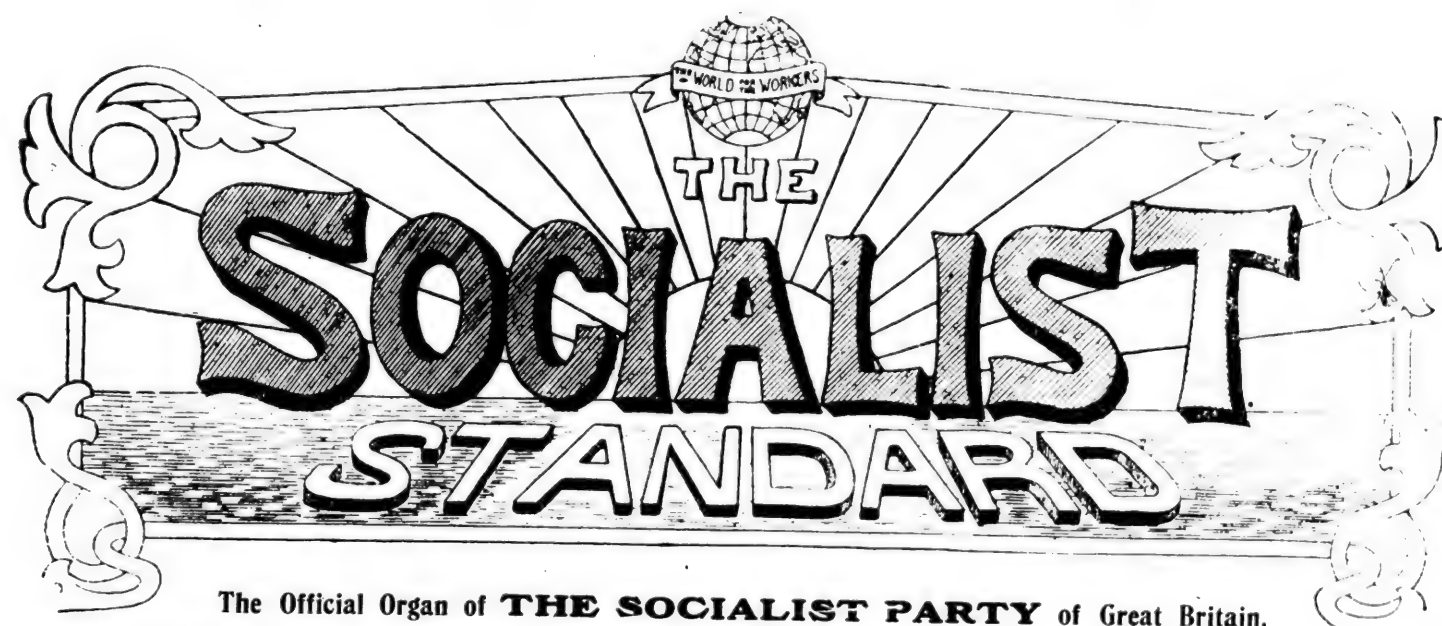
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LONDON, DECEMBER 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE CASE FOR FREE LOVE.

SOME CAPITALIST HYPOCRISIES EXPOSED.

To the Revolutionist it is almost an axiom that modern society is rotten—rotten at the root! The production of wealth—the first essential form of human activity—is carried on, not for the purpose of satisfying the physical needs of the workers, but with the motive of accumulating wealth in the shape of capital. The means of production are exalted above the producer. These supplementary organs of society are owned and controlled by a small percentage of the race, and the rest of mankind exist merely to augment them for the benefit of the few. Every human faculty capable of serving the interests of these exploiters has to be surrendered by those who possess nought else in return for the wherewithal to purchase the bare means of subsistence. It thus becomes perverted and deteriorates as a consequence. Cash dominates all social relationships and vitiates them.

Sexual relations form no exception to the general rule. The natural purpose for which men and women should mate is the perpetuation of the race and the incidental satisfaction of the sexual instinct. This motive, however, has about the least weight of any in determining the conditions of sexual intercourse at the present day.

The great majority of women, as of men, are dependent on the capitalist class for bread, and being by nature inferior to men as wealth producers, are compelled to turn their sexual attractions to account in order to balance the handicap which sex itself imposes upon them in the competition for employment. Just as the poet, the artist, the physician and the lawyer, to say nothing of the parson and the politician, regard their special abilities as the means of "making a career," so women generally look upon their natural endowment as an economic asset. On the other hand men have come to regard women as existing mainly, if not wholly, for the satisfaction of their own sexual desires, which tend to degenerate as a natural result into lust unredeemed by any regard for the will or the affection of women.

In ordinary public prostitution the divorce of the sex relation from its true motive is too obvious to need special comment.

Wedded Marriage, however, is in reality **Blis-ter** similar in nature. Stripped of all the sentiment with which an essentially false conventionalism has surrounded it, the legal contract, like all others, consists of an exchange of commodities. In return for the guarantee of economic maintenance the woman surrenders her body to the man, who thereby acquires the "marital right" to force maternity upon her whenever he chooses irrespective of her own desires.

It is true that wives are also useful as household drudges, but considering only the sexual

aspect of the relationship, the only difference between marriage and so-called immorality for cash is that the former is purchase, with the terms legally recognised and enforceable, while the latter is hire. The monetary damages awarded in breach of promise and divorce cases serve to illustrate this. The loss of prospective maintenance by the woman, or the loss of the conjugal monopoly by the man, as the case may be, is estimated at so much in cash. Need more be said to show that the sex-nature in woman has been reduced by capitalism to the level of a commodity?

Children may be said to be the incidental by-products of marriage rather than its fundamental object. They also become the property of the husband, who, like any other slave-owner, is responsible for their maintenance.

The advantages of this arrangement to the parent, however, depends upon his own economic status. The capitalist can exploit the "expectations" of his heirs by making their inheritance depend upon the subservience of their activities to his commercial interests. It is considered a matter of honour for both sons and daughters to make matches with a view to enhancing the stability of the family fortunes.

On the other hand, the working man with a precarious income is compelled to drive his "brats" to the factory, the workshop, or the office in order to enable him to barely fulfil his legal responsibilities toward them. Indeed, large numbers are compelled to rely on similar aid from their wives. Even these measures tend to cut the ground from under the feet of the working men themselves, for the entrance of women and children into the labour market necessarily results in keener competition for jobs hitherto performed by men, with a resulting lowering of the rate of wages and an increased inability to maintain a family on their part.

Verily, modern machinery under capitalism is the sword promised by the Prince of Peace to set parents against children and *vice-versa*, and to make a man's foes "those of his own household."

Marriage and the family, for the working class, are, to the extent that they survive, mere legal devices to prevent encroachment upon the pockets of the ratepayers. For society as a whole they are the means of maintaining and augmenting private property. We come back then to our starting point, that human relations are dominated by this necessity. Let us consider its effect on the quality of sex.

In all phases of the competitive support of human requirements, their quality is determined by the power of the purse. The economic resources of the great mass of the people consist of subsistence wages. Consequently cheapness is the

first consideration, and quality naturally deteriorates. Sex is affected in the same manner as all other commodities. Supply tending to exceed demand in this as in all other

markets, all manner of tricks to ensure a ready sale are resorted to. Sham attractions are set in competition with

real ones. The adulteration of food stuffs, clothing, etc., in such a manner as to tickle the palate and catch the eye, is here paralleled by the substitution of paint on the cheeks for the glow of health, and the use of perfumes for preventing the detection of the symptoms of indigestion. Constricted waists and artificially exaggerated figures seek to excite male passions, while in order that these same passions may be cheaply indulged, various methods for the prevention of conception are commonly resorted to. Finally, the excessive and promiscuous intercourse, which the legal contract can neither prevent nor completely hide, gives rise to various diseases, which form a source of profit for innumerable purveyors of patent medicines, appliances, and systems, which, like most palliatives (political ones included), make bad worse.

The fancied security offered by marriage from the necessity of entering the labour market or adopting life on the streets leads women to give little consideration to the physical fitness of the first male person who is in a position to offer marriage and does so. Consequently matrimonial misfits, temperamental and physiological, tend to become the rule rather than the exception, and it is not to be wondered at that the children of such unions are degenerate. Add to this the myriad forms of "literary," "artistic" and "theatrical" enterprise devoted to the stimulation and exploitation of vicious imaginations, and the "problems" arising from the possession of the same, and it becomes questionable whether the limit has not been reached in the commercialisation and degradation of sex.

Above this welter of misery the employers of cheap feminine labour, the financiers of the white slave traffic and all the gold-farers who directly or indirectly levy toll on vice and its effects, idle away useless, harmful, often "philanthropic" lives amid the luxury heaped up by their degenerate

slaves: while, hanging on to their purse strings with the tenacity of limpets, the parsons and moralists, "physicians" and "reformers" of every description, pretend to be clearing up the mess, incidentally enjoying to the job the more the larger the mess and increases in extent, and number of slaves and recreating themselves in the debauched and anarchic way of life which the "free" "freedom" and "simulate" the possessions of the "moral" "actual" gents of the Anti-Socialist Union.

The Gentle Art of Mugging.

describe the orgy of bestiality which they assure their audiences will be inaugurated by the advent of Socialism. "Community of Women!! Universal Prostitution and Promiscuity!!" they cry, endeavouring to frighten their hearers with the shadow in order to divert their attention from the reality, and the economic system on which it is based and which these same paid hacks are out to defend.

Yet years ago Marx and Engels (unlike the Fabian Society, the I.L.P., and all the other pseudo-Socialist crowd who allow this misrepresentation of free love), challenged these gentry with the facts in terms that are worth quoting. In the "Communist Manifesto," section II, dealing with numerous objections to Communism, they say:

"The bourgeois (capitalist) sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the means of production are to become common property, and naturally can only think that the lot of becoming common property will likewise fall to women.

"He never suspects that the real point aimed at is to do away with the position of women as mere instruments of production."

"For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous horror of our bourgeois at the community of women which he pretends will be officially established by the Communists.

"The members of our bourgeoisie, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take special delight in mutually seducing each other's wives."

"Bourgeois marriage is in reality community of wives. The Communists could at most be accused of wishing to replace a hypocritically concealed community of women by an official and open community of women. For the rest, it is evident that with the abolition of the present system of production will disappear also the community of women resulting from it, i.e., public prostitution." And so it is.

The degradation of women as a sex is but a special aspect of the general degradation of humanity. The cause of this degradation is, as we have shown, the private ownership of society's means of subsistence. To remove the cause is the task of the great mass of society—the working class. Only by converting the instruments of production into common property can they emancipate themselves from the necessity of prostituting their faculties to the foul service of the capitalist class, which, like an octopus, sucks the blood of every part of the social body.

With this freedom established, all human activities will depend upon their desirability and usefulness to those who perform them. Consequently our faculties will be devoted, unhampered by economic considerations, to their true purpose. When women have free access, as members of the community, to a sufficiency of those things necessary to a healthy and happy life, their genuine sex-nature will assert itself. When children are born with a similar birthright, the need for avoiding them or exploiting them for private ends will disappear also. They will be born and reared for their own sake, as they should be. Therefore between man and woman, parents and children, affection will be the only tie. Modern marriage and the present so-called family life, like all other egal institutions, with their sordid monetary and proprietary bases, will be relegated to the limbo of the forgotten past. Where love exists chains are unnecessary; where it does not they are undesirable to those who would be free. But to expect sexual love, parental love, or fraternal love to flourish under a social order based on competition, greed, and hatred is akin to looking for figs on thistles.

To sweep away the foul conditions of producing and distributing the material wants of mankind, which to-day render these latter qualities essential to existence, thus preventing the free development of human love, we call our fellow-workers to arise.

There is a sordid system to be overthrown, a class battenning thereon to be fought. And as the power of this class, to which it ferociously clings, consists of the control of the political allegiance of the workers themselves, our course is obvious. We must organise as a class, wrest from our masters the forces of coercion directed by the machinery of government, and having

thus removed the only obstacle, take possession of the indispensable resources of nature and of society—the land, the machines, and all those things necessary for the production and distribution of wealth. Such is the programme of the Socialist Party. We do not flinch from any of its implications.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. . . . The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains: they have a world to win." E. BOWEN.

PRIESTHOOD AND PRIESTCRAFT.

The recent intervention of the Catholic priests in Dublin in preventing some of the starving little victims of the class war being taken to the homes of sympathisers for maintenance during the hopeless struggle, whilst affording us one more illustration of the manner in which Christians love one another, also gives an opportunity of discharging upon the functions which the clergy fulfil as political agents of the ruling class. With the struggle between the various brands of Christians over that attribute of supernaturalism called a "soul" we are not immediately concerned. We can leave the "loving followers of the meek and lowly one" to fight like Kilkenny cats about it if they wish, knowing that at best all their hullabaloo about "proselytising" is a mere surface ripple, a reflection of the deeper economic interests of the class in whose interest the world's religions and their priestcrafts function.

It is safe to say, and, indeed, in strict accord with science to affirm, that in the sum total of human knowledge there is not one grain of evidence that the animal man possesses a soul. About souls the present writer knows as much as any priest or scientist who has been, or is, upon the planet earth, and that is—nothing! In maintaining their position as a robber class it is necessary for the capitalists at all times to hide the fundamental fact that they only live by and upon the surplus value which their system of society enables them to wring from the workers. Therefore, where the general ignorance is deepest the aid of a priesthood (whose special duty is to foster and teach superstitious and ignorant beliefs) is invaluable in directing the thoughts of their poor dupes away from that fact by impressing on their minds the slave maxims concerning "obedience to masters and pastors," and "rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," and in planting as firmly as possible the idea that God is responsible for all their miseries, for which they are to be rewarded after they are dead—if they are good.

But these black-coated agents of the dominant class are useful to their employers in yet another connection—that of dividing the working class into contending factions. The intelligent observer of current events in Ireland can perceive the outstanding fact that the abysmal ignorance, and the fanaticism and bigotry arising therefrom, presents an opportunity too valuable to be missed by all types of political tools, for furthering the interests of their capitalist paymaster by inciting the workers against each other. The Green Isle! Where the priesthood have failed to fulfil their true political functions in capitalist society—that is to say, where they have failed to divide the working class, or pursue a policy detrimental to the profit-seeking interests of the capitalists—they have been discarded: disestablishment has been their reward at the hands of their one-time employers. "The Capitalist State." The value of a State supported priesthood has often been emphasised by us, but one more authoritative statement apropos of this point will not be amiss. Herr Bulage, a member of the German Reichstag, addressing the Annual Congress of the German Catholics at Essen in 1906, pointed out that

"The Prince of Peace will prove the surest defence of all princes and Christian kingdoms against revolution and revolutionary ideas."

Unfortunately for the slimy distributors of brain-drugging religious cant, the capitalist class, besides being compelled by their economic needs to educate their slaves to an ever greater degree as their system of society develops, are also not in the habit of continuing their support of any agency which, owing to that very increase

of knowledge among the workers, is gradually losing its power. And so, despite the howls of the Church, disestablishment, and what they dread infinitely more, disendowment, surely awaits them—not at the hands of any wicked Socialists, but as a natural result of capitalist development, which admits only of profitable investments.

Capitalism, ruthless smasher of ancient customs and worn out beliefs, in its hurrying stride is plucking the older bulwarks of private property by the roots, and, by clearing the political field of the debris of feudalism, valuable no longer to itself, is enabling the exploited working class to see, standing in the ever-widening gulf that yawns 'twixt class and class, the real force that keeps them in economic servitude; and the increasing knowledge thrust upon them by a class that must have more and more surplus value is assisting them to learn that the one way out of their quagmire of misery and toil is by seizing the political power for themselves—the first essential step of which is to organise to seize it.

When the priest, rattling his bag of glib bones, fails to frighten a class strong in knowledge; when the politician, with honeyed words and gilded promises, can no longer delude a politically enlightened class; then the miseries of the workers will be near their end.

WOLLIE.

THE "BALLOT" STRIKE.

To Show what a smart and up-to-date journal the "Daily Herald" is, the issue of 25th November contains an article by Mr. Russel Smart advocating that, instead of running candidates for Parliament "without even a feeble hope of success," the workers go to the ballot and deliberately spoil the voting papers.

Smart Russel has discovered that it is not good enough to merely abstain from voting or using the ballot, but that the ballot can be actually made a useful agency by Socialists for registering their strength in the constituencies.

Has Smart been careless enough to attend a meeting of the S.P.G.B., and to learn that for years we have taught that the ballot can be used for ascertaining the strength of the movement.

Perhaps! and perhaps not; for we learn further that the ballot paper can be spoiled "either by writing 'Socialism' across it, or better still, filling in the space opposite the candidates' names with the word 'Knaves'."

If Russel thinks that "knavery" is a better resort to "capitalism" than the demand for Socialism, then perhaps he has succeeded in describing the attitude of the "D.H.," the Fabian Society, the I.L.P., the S.D.P., and the Syndicalists more accurately than he intended. Smart, isn't he?

SOUTH WEST.

SO NEAR AND YET SO FAR.

On Saturday, November 29th, Capt. G. V. W. Lushington took Winstone Churchill up in an aeroplane; on the following Wednesday he was killed. The accident might have happened at a much more opportune moment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

RECEIVED.

"The World of Labour," by G. D. H. Cole. London: G. Bell & Sons. 5s. nett. (Will be reviewed next month.)
"The Future of the Woman's Movement," by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick. London: G. Bell & Sons. 2s. 6d. nett.

JOTTINGS.

A GREAT deal of ink has been spilled and much perturbation caused in the "Labour" Press by the re-opening of the issues that led Mr. H. G. Wells to "denounce" the labour movement in general and the Fabian Society in particular, and finally to sever his connection with the latter body. There appears to be a general feeling of regret that Mr. Wells should have taken up an attitude of hostility in view of the services he is supposed to have rendered to the cause of Socialism. A lot has been said and written in praise of Wells's service to Socialism, but why this should be is beyond the writer's understanding, seeing that neither in his writings nor anywhere else is there any indication that he ever was, or ever will be, a Socialist. Nor is there any indication that he ever understood Socialism.

In the "Morning Post" of September 19 Mr. Harold Cox has a bit of a dig at the trade union leaders on the futility of "collective bargaining." He thinks the inference to be drawn is that "collective bargaining cannot greatly affect, if at all, the price which labour can command under the free operation of the law of supply and demand. . . . When there are two pigs in the market and only one buyer, pigs are cheap; when there is only one pig and two buyers pigs are dear."

Mr. Cox says he has been led to this view by reading a few pamphlets. Has he, perchance, been perusing the SOCIALIST STANDARD or the S.P.G.B. pamphlets? He couldn't do a better thing! His inference is correct. Before the workers and masters could "bargain" they would have to meet on a common ground; to be on terms of equality, which under the present system, is manifestly absurd. All the "bargaining" is one-sided—the masters alone at the present time possess the power to enforce their terms.

The "Daily Citizen" rejects this theory and taunts Mr. Cox with "placing labour in precisely the same category as sacks of wheat and bales of cotton—as a commodity to be bought and sold." This fundamental fact of capitalist exploitation the "Citizen" dismisses as unsound! An economic heresy! How clear our contemporary is upon the position of the workers may be seen by the way in which it disposes of the above "heresy." It says:

"Labour is not some passive commodity to be bartered like dead pigs or pig-iron, without interest in the transaction. Labour is blood and brain and sinew. Labour is life. It is neither in the interest of the individual nor the community that labour should be bought like timber in the cheapest market."

In whose interest does the capitalist buy it, then? Any fool knows that labour (for which read labour power) is blood and brain and sinew, but is it any the less a commodity for that? As a matter of fact that is just why it is a commodity. Being "blood and brain and sinew," and being capable of producing more value than it receives in return, it is more or less in demand, and the worker, not possessing anything else, is compelled to take it into the market and barter it for the most he can get for it in order to live.

"The worker, having no land or capital of his own, must sell his labour, and in a large measure sell himself, to their owners. Landlords and capitalists buy labour as they buy bales of cotton. They pay the workman the lowest possible wage, and coin rent and dividend out of his toil."

No, this is not a quotation from Marx, but an extract from an editorial of the same paper (24.10.13) that taunts Mr. Cox with "placing labour in precisely the same category as sacks of wheat and bales of cotton!"

Mr. James Larkin addressed a meeting at Birmingham on October 11th. In the course of his remarks he had occasion to mention that the "Morning Post" had paid Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., the sum of £20 for writing an article. Larkin, it appears, got quite excited about this.

Why should he? Is this a feature of the labour movement that he had not heard of before? Surely not! When asked for proof he said:

"I can prove that the 'Morning Post' paid Philip Snowden for writing a special column about the sympathetic strike, and I can also prove that I was offered the same terms, and further, I can prove that the 'Evening News' of London offered to pay whatever I demanded to put forward my methods and policy in the columns of a Conservative newspaper."

(Manchester Guardian, 13.10.13.)

Who said strikes didn't pay?

Speaking at Oldham on October 26th, Mr. W. C. Robinson, prospective Labour candidate for the division, said: "Workers ought to be compelled by law to become members of a trade union." Why not shove it in the programme of the Labour Party as one of those things that ought to be "nationalised"?

At the same meeting the brutal methods of the police during the Dublin strike was commented upon—a strike, mind you, created by the avowed determination of the masters, and aided by the law, to smash trade unionism!

During the recent municipal elections the Values League submitted the following proposition to all candidates in the Manchester and Salford area:

"The transference of the cost of such national services as poor relief, education, police, and asylums from the local rates on to the national exchequer; a fund for such purposes to be provided by a Budget tax on all land values."

Although this is obviously and essentially a capitalist proposition, it nevertheless obtained the unqualified approval of the I.L.P. candidates!

Among the many resolutions passed by the various organisations in condemnation of the Aisgill verdict the following is worth reproducing. It goes further than all the silly twaddle that has been uttered. It was passed by the Chopwell Lodge of the Durham Miners' Federation (31.10.13).

"This lodge views with sincere appreciation the tender solicitude of the Government and its judges for the susceptibilities of the Midland Railway Co., whose poverty enables them to provide a better class of coal and sufficient oil for their express trains, or to incur the terrible expense of providing a pilot engine to assist an overloaded train up the steep incline at Aisgill, which train, as was expected, stuck fast before reaching the top, and was subsequently struck in the rear by another train, whose driver, with demoniacal cleverness, had succeeded in getting his train up the incline at almost full speed with the same necessarily cheap working material."

"We further applaud the action of the learned judge, whose pathetic anxiety for the welfare of the travelling public, and incidentally the railway company, nerved him to sentence Driver Caudle to two months imprisonment for his criminal inability to do more than five things at once."

"We are also of opinion that the fireman was deserving of at least three months for having failed to make coal at 3s. 11d. do the work of coal at 9s. 6d. per ton."

"We suggest that, in view of the straightened circumstances of the company, and the opulent wages paid to workmen, drivers ought to provide their own coal and oil in future, a condition which would enable railway companies to insist upon the use of best coal."

"Finally, we wish to record our sorrow that some of the people prominently associated with the case were not in the rear coach of the first train."

How proud those Buckingham Palace workmen must have felt when the King entertained them to dinner at the Holborn Restaurant! How they must have congratulated themselves on the conclusion of the remarkable achievement of transforming an architectural eye-sore into something just as ugly! And at the close of the dinner each guest was presented with a real

amber and—I mean a real clay pipe and a packet of tobacco, ornamented with the royal arms and bearing the inscription: "From His Majesty the King, October 31, 1913."

Rather unfortunate, though, that the King was unable to be present. The picture would have been complete. What's that you say? Because they were working men? "Sh! Perish the thought!"

An unusually pathetic case was reported in the Press recently—pathetic enough to excite thelachrymal glands of a stone image into working overtime. I refer to the report of the death of Mr. Edward Morris, head of the Chicago firm of Morris & Co., who died through overwork (sic). His firm was among those indicted by the U.S. Government in the Beef Trust case. He is believed to have left a fortune of some-where about £8,000,000. No wonder it killed him!

He must have worked damned hard! Why, I have known men work hard all their lives up to old age, and yet not possess eight pence to bless it with.

"There's something rotten in the State of Denmark!"

At the Reading bye-election last month the Independent Labour Party unanimously endorsed the candidature of Mr. J. G. Butler, of the B.S.P. Mr. Butler in return pledged to associate himself with the Parliamentary Labour Party in the event of his election. These organisations are erstwhile "foes," but both have conveniently discovered that they stand for the same thing: "Two minds with but a single thought."

Probably one reason why Mr. Lloyd George was so sanguine of the success of his latest anaesthetic was because he could count on its complete assimilation by the Labour Party and its supporters. Whether it be Home Rule or Old Age Pensions, State Insurance, or any other old thing (in the way of dog) it is received by the Labour Party with acclamation. One of the latest is "State cottages for the aged." At its inauguration in London on November 9th, Mr. G. N. Barnes, who was very much to the front, pointed out that, at the present time, it costs 13s. 8d. per head per week to keep people in the workhouse, while under the proposed scheme it would cost only 8s. 8½d. "to keep the old people in dignity and freedom."

The main point, however, was that it was estimated to save "the country" a matter of £585,000 a year on the transaction.

As the "saving" of this can only mean that it will be shifted from the pockets of one section of the capitalist class to the pockets of another section, one naturally wants to know why Labour M.P.s should support it. Where are the workers' interests served in a case like this? Do they think they are doing the aged persons in the workhouse a good turn by lowering their cost of maintenance by 5s. a week?

TOM SALA.

"The Dublin strikers have had to fight the whole Press of Ireland, without distinction of party."—"Daily Chronicle," 17.11.13
This bears out our position exactly with reference to the class struggle.

"SOCIALISM TARIFF REFORM." BEING A REPLY TO A DEBATE BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free

reference or examiners for the companies. Then by means of bullying and browbeating in the manner of legal prize fighters toward the unlettered, they will get the suffering claimants for sickness benefits to "declare off" the funds. What more need be said for this scheme than that it has received the benediction of Sir John Collie, knighted by the Liberal Government for his detective work for the L.C.C. and the insurance companies in connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act? The anxiety to brand the workman as a malingerer has even led the insurance trust referred to to appoint sick visitors to watch members of the staff on the sick list. All this is of a part with their work in practising espionage upon their employees while at work, by means of detectives on point duty at the desk, to see that the driven slaves of the pen look neither to the right nor to the left, but steadily and speedily calculate "ninepence for fourpence"!

In this article little has been said regarding the effect of Health and Unemployment Insurance upon the insured persons; but that will form the subject of a future article by AN "APPROVED" SLAVE.

THE FORUM.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Carrie St., Quigney,
East London, S. Africa.

Dear Sir,—I should be glad if you would enlighten me through the medium of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, upon the subject of "Land Values"—taxing the land 20s. in the £. Would this not lead up to Socialism?

What prompted this question is a pamphlet which I have read entitled: "The Story of my Dictatorship," from the Land Values Publication Department, London.—M. FRANKLIN.

In dealing with the question of Taxation of Land Values it must be remembered that the advocates of this measure, from Henry George to Joseph Hyder, always assumed the retention of capitalism in all its other features.

Under such conditions there is no difference in principle between taxing land and taxing lace. Both are cases of the Governmental powers being used to take wealth from members of society for general purposes—as wise old Benjamin Franklin saw.

Taxation is, of course, necessary under capitalism, and the only question is, how shall the "burden" be apportioned among the taxpayers—the capitalist class. The land-owning section are quite sure the "burden" should not be placed on them, while the industrial capitalists are equally certain that they should not be called upon to pay. Hence the minor quarrel between them over taxes.

But under capitalism the joining together of these two sections into a land-owning industrial capitalist group is steadily increasing. For them the problem is solved. From the general capitalist standpoint the portion of wealth best able to bear the "burden" of taxation is land, as it disturbs the production and distribution of commodities—the great factor of capitalism—less than any other method of raising the sum required. Hence large landowners who happen to be still more largely interested in industry, favour taxation of land values, to the great bewilderment of "the man in the street," who finally explains a landowner being in favour of taxing land by the theory that he is "a good man."

Except, then, as an indication of the development of capitalism, and the concentration of both land and industrial capital into fewer hands, taxation of land values, even up to 20s. in the £, no more leads to Socialism than would taxation of toffee. On the contrary, it would merely be one of the steps in the more efficient organisation of capitalism for the benefit of the capitalists.

J. F.

A SECULARIST SIDE-TRACKS.

Mr. Rennolls replies as follows to the rejoinder of our comrade Le Cart in the October SOCIALIST STANDARD:

Sir,—Mr. Le Cart writes that "Secularism is this-worldism in opposition to the belief in the existence of another world." On top of this he tries to argue that Socialism is *versus* Secularism. If he is correct, then Socialism is next-worldism. In order to make things clearer he further argues that Secularism is a "religious" aspect of society and that "Socialism is anti-religious."

Taking the two arguments together, Socialism is both this-worldism and next-worldism at the same time, Secularism is next-worldism only, and Socialism is *versus* itself.

As if this is not enough we get his state of mind in two further comparisons: "Secularism is this-worldism," and "Secularism is essentially nothing but a futile negation." Our dinners, and wages, and bosses, etc., are nothing but "futile negations."

We further learn that "Secularism is itself guilty of inaccurate mental vision." Then this worldism is the product of inaccurate mental vision. If the vision was correct, Secularism would probably not see this world at all. It would "see" the "next." It would then cease to be itself.

The following quotation indicates Mr. Le Cart's genius for logical argument: "If it (Secularism) leaves room for misunderstanding and ill usage, it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment." I commend this to the notice of the Anti-Socialist Union, which will now be able to argue that as, according to the S.P.G.B., Socialism is misunderstood and ill-used, it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment.

Mr. Le Cart does not know the difference between the meaning of "shaped and determined by" and "based on," for look at this sentence: "Religious ideas, however, being shaped and determined by social conditions, only exist as a product of the particular social system in which they are manifested, and as such are not based at all on the existence of another world."

The italics are mine. Religious ideas are based upon next-worldism. Religious ideas are shaped by social conditions. They are both based and shaped, but Mr. Le Cart actually argues that "shape" is "base," the building is the foundation.

One more illustration to show how much Mr. Le Cart understands anything at all. He argues that this-worldism (Secularism) is a narrowing down to one single aspect of society, viz., the religious one. Religion being of the next world, we arrive right here: This-worldism is a next-world aspect of this world, that is, it is not itself!

Yours sincerely,

THOMAS RENNOLLS.

Mr. Rennolls, whose criticism of my article "Socialism v. Secularism," appeared in the Oct. "S.S.," loses his temper [Have removed all that sort of thing.—SCRUB ED.] without improving his case. On the contrary, it is worse than ever, for he gives way to misrepresentation, and once an opponent adopts such tactics all debate becomes impossible and useless.

He, for instance, ascribes the following sentence to me: "Secularism is a religious aspect of society." I, of course, never said anything of the kind. A little further he tears a phrase from its context, as witness: "If Secularism leaves room for misunderstanding and ill-usage it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment." He leaves out the previous sentence, which gives this one its proper meaning, and in which I use the words "by its adherents." I quite understand that these words are troublesome to Mr. Rennolls because they make the phrase apply to that master class party that styles itself the I.L.P., and under the auspices of which he gives to the world a proper understanding of—Secularism!

Apart from this, Mr. Rennolls cannot understand that, since I myself point out that Secularism stands for this-worldism, Socialism can be *versus* Secularism. Well, perhaps he can understand that capitalism is very much this-worldism does it therefore follow that Socialism cannot be *versus* capitalism?

The only other point in this letter consists in the writer taking me to task over the following statement: "Religious ideas, however, being shaped and determined by social conditions, only exist as a product of the particular social system in which they are manifested, and as

such are not based at all on the existence of another world." He says that I do not know the difference between "to be determined by," and "to be based on," and kindly proceeds to explain it. Note how he does it: "Religious ideas are shaped by social conditions. Religious ideas are based upon next-worldism."

Ye gods, what a revelation! Religious ideas and next-worldism two different things! Take away religious ideas and you still have next-worldism! Such is the gospel of Mr. Rennolls! I humbly thought they were one and the same thing. Perhaps he meant to affirm that religious ideas are based on the next world—but again this can't be, for, to him, the next world is non-existent, and nothing can be based upon that which is not.

M. J. LE CART.

INDUSTRIALITIS.

REPLIES TO J. SUTHERLAND (Australia).

Mr. Sutherland says (1) "That political action as defined by Marx does not necessarily include Parliamentary action."

There is no ground whatever for this assertion. Political action is nowhere so "defined by Marx." On the contrary, his works bristle with references which indicate the opposite. Note particularly the chapters on the Factory Acts in "Capital," and the methods and measures indicated in the "Communist Manifesto." That Marx regarded the Parliamentary franchise as the very basis of working-class political action is shown by his organisation of an agitation for the suffrage where this essential for political action had not yet been obtained by the workers. Nothing can be more definite in this point than Marx's own statement in the following letters in the possession of the Editor of the "Neue Zeit." (English translation published in the "Social Democrat," May, 1902.)

K. Marx to Dr. Kugelmann.

Jan. 15, 1866.

"We have been very busy organising a large meeting in favour of universal suffrage and at this meeting only working men spoke. The effect was very great and 'The Times' in 2 consecutive numbers discussed the question in a leader."

("Social Democrat," Aug. 1902.)

Karl Marx to Kugelmann.

Oct. 9, 1866.

"The agitation for universal suffrage here, in which I have had a large share, is growing more and more."

(2) "That as Parliamentary action is useless unless backed by industrial organisations (capitalism only yielding to force), therefore such organisations can secure from Parliament all that is required, without being represented in the house of legislation, by strikes and direct action."

Muddled expression is the reflex of muddled thought. The force, without the backing of which Parliamentary action is useless, is not industrial organisations, but the armed force of the State. Since the armed force is controlled by Parliament, it is necessary, above all, to capture Parliament. Industrial organisations are powerless to secure anything from the State that the capitalists in control do not want to give, and it is ridiculous to assert that industrial organisations can, by strikes (i.e., self starvation) and by direct action (i.e., throwing stones at the police), overcome the armed force that is controlled by Parliament and obtain "all that is required." Every so called concession that the workers have obtained in that way from the State has turned out to be either a fresh shackle or else Dead Sea fruit. No substitution of words or begging the question can hide the fact that to control society it is first necessary to capture its executive and administrative powers.

(3) "That as a man is influenced by his environment it almost always happens that working men elected to Parliament soon betray their class. The I.W.W. believe officials should only get the same wages as when at work at their trades, with, of course, expenses."

The environment of a representative of the workers is very similar in both cases. Betrayal of the workers has hitherto been even more common, and just as pernicious, in industrial as

in political circles. The cause is the same in both cases—ignorance among the rank and file of the tailors of Socialist principles. Knowledge means power, and with the removal of the ignorance that permits them to be led, the workers will effectively control their representatives, who will then cease to be leaders and become useful servants.

The lowness of salary proposed is simply a disgusting imitation of capitalist exploitation. So far is it from being any guarantee against treachery that it is a direct and powerful temptation to it.

(4) "A Socialist organisation admitting anyone except a wage earner cannot be a class-conscious organisation."

This is no valid objection as it stands, since in a Socialist organisation the number of non-wage earners would be so infinitesimal that they would have to be sought with a microscope.

The all-sufficing basis of admission is the written acceptance of the principles of Socialism (which include the class struggle) and conduct consistent with the acceptance of that position. Such an organisation obviously cannot be other than class-conscious. On the other hand, since by no means every wage-earner is class-conscious, any organisation such as the I.W.W., which admits any wage earner, Socialist or otherwise, cannot itself be class-conscious.

(5) "That as members of Parliament have to take an oath of allegiance, and that as Socialists do not believe in God, King or Country, they cannot take the oath; therefore Parliamentary representation is not possible, if Socialists are consistent, under present conditions."

A pledge exacted by force is worthless. The highest capitalist authorities are unanimous as to the historical and actual worthlessness of oaths of allegiance. No one except word-struck I.W.W.ites attaches any importance to the oath that is administered to members of the House of Commons. The oath is simply a capitalist defence, adding nothing to their power, and effective only against fools who attach any sentimental value to it. It would be an amusing solution of the social problem (for the capitalists) if all they had to do to prevent the workers capturing political power was to stretch a sheet of parchment over the door of the House of Commons. If an oath were of any use they would make us all swallow one on leaving school, and where would the weak-kneed I.W.W.ites be then, poor things?

W.

CAPITALIST MORALS.

A DEAL of time is occupied on our platform in refuting objections raised by people who labour under the delusion that the Socialist proposes to introduce a system of society from which all pain shall be eliminated; a sort of paradise on earth. Our "Utopia" is usually described by these opponents as a system wherein the chief occupation of the people will be falling upon each other's necks in order to show their brotherly love.

Such ideas are, no doubt, generated by the twaddle of some of the semi-Christian fools who masquerade as Socialists in "Brotherhood Churches," and hang upon a few good natured, weak-minded old women of both sexes, who possess a little money and, oh! so little sense.

To be frank, even at the risk of losing the moral support of the "uncol" guild, we must confess that the Socialist is but of human clay, little better, or no better, than his neighbour. He depends for the success of his teachings not so much upon the generation of "brotherly love" among the working class as upon their selfish desire to benefit themselves and their kind.

We have not to "wait until selfishness has been stamped out of the human race" for the realisation of our scheme. We have no expectation of being "born again" plus wings and minus faults, before commencing operations. We have no visionary ideas regarding a return of some mythical Christ who can with a wave of a magic wand exorcise all evil and leave mankind absolutely "pure and without viciousness and desire." It is not the Socialist who paints pictures of the future "buck navy" with mine

ing step, waltzing round a golden throne twanging a harp.

Such notions we are content to leave to our opponents, the kind Christian capitalists and their supporters, who, in the few brief spells between their deeds of exploitation and murder, may gush their pleasant Sunday afternoon platitudes to those who are foolish enough to listen to them.

The morality of to-day is but the custom of the time rendered necessary by the mode of wealth production and the social needs of the people by whom the system is controlled. But the moral precepts of to-day are not the same as those of yesterday, nor could they be. That which is best for a ruling class in a given system, that which for the time is the most profitable—that is "moral" and "right," and that conception of morality changes as the social requirements change.

Codes of ethics are not fixed and unchangeable, as our religionist would have us believe. Our ideas of morality are not those laid down some centuries ago by some hero or god. Ideas of right and wrong, of morality, social and sexual, change as social conditions alter, as must necessarily be the case since the tenets of morality are but an effect of the conditions arising from social needs.

Moral rules of society remain only while they meet social requirements. What custom has rendered distasteful to the average person dwelling within a given system becomes immoral, and is so only because the conditions of the time make that custom or convention unnecessary, and therefore wrong.

For instance, monogamy to-day is considered moral because the system of private ownership demands at least the formal recognition of such a code. Private ownership requires heirs to the property owned; requires that there shall arise no question as to whom the property shall legally descend to. Hence one wife only is allowed, and the progeny of that sanctified union alone are the "natural" heirs.

The pious theory that monogamy was accepted by civilisation because it was the more holy and righteous cannot be swallowed even with the most generous pinch of salt.

That woman suffered by the change cannot be doubted, and however righteous it may be for the wife to have exclusive intercourse with her husband, the latter is never expected to be monogamous.

The old form of group marriage with descent in the female line was not possible with ownership of property by the male. Where all the males of one group were the husbands of all the females of another group, who were in turn the wives of all the males of the first group, to trace descent by the father was not possible. Maternal descent alone could be recognised. The loose pairing "family," too, did not allow of the privately-owned property of the father being handed down to the child, and consequently the monogamic family and permanent marriage became the order of the day.

Then only was the family in its real sense brought into being, the origin of the word being in itself significant. According to L. Morgan ("Ancient Society"): "In its primary meaning the word family had no relation to the married pair or their children, but to the body of slaves and servants who laboured for its maintenance and were under the power of the pater familias. Familia in some testamentary dispositions is used as equivalent to *patrimonium*, the inheritance which passed to the heir. It was introduced in Latin society to define a new organisation, the head of which held wife and children and a body of servile persons under paternal power."

And again: "The word family, derived from *familia*, which contained the same element as *familus*=servant, supposed to be derived from Ocean *famel*=serves, a slave."

Mommsen ("History of Rome") uses the phrase "body of servants" as the Latin signification of *familia*.

The "sacred" family, then, originated as an expression of a group of dependents or slaves held in bondage by the "father," a property owner. The wife then degenerated to the chief slave, which, for all practical purposes, she remains to-day.

By maternal law, when descent was traced through the mother, the woman was of some

importance, and the relatives on the maternal side inherited what little property may be said to have existed. All the wealth of the tribe or gens had to remain with the gens, and fathers could not pass their "property" down to their sons, who were of another gens or group. Paternal law was therefore necessary for the continuation and growth of private ownership, and paternal law was possible only by permanent marriage and exclusive cohabitation on the part of the wife. Hence monogamy.

So with all moral conduct. Among certain races it would be considered the height of immorality for one man to live upon the exploitation of another, but under capitalism that is quite moral and quite right. At one time a "landless" man is an exception and is classed as a rogue and vagabond. He is an "immoral" person whom it is right to scorn and imprison. To-day the majority are without an inch of soil. While at one period it is considered wrong to attack a man who is at a disadvantage, yet at another it is the order of the day.

If under capitalism one refuses to take advantage of another's weakness, and fails to clutch a bargain at the right moment, then he fails as a business man, and people, instead of admiring his ethics, call him a fool. The successful man of modern times is he who can take advantage of others in their weak moments and make money thereby. To corner wheat and hold a nation on the verge of starvation is considered quite moral by the same delicately stomachached individual who would vomit at the idea of one man killing and eating his enemy. Yet the latter process at one period in history was quite right and moral.

So, the Socialist does not base his appeal on some abstract idea of right; does not ask for support on the shifting ground of morality or justice. He appeals to the material interests of the working class, and endeavours to show that, logically, to support the present system is to support his own subjection and enslavement. We do not ask that slavery should be abolished just because it is immoral, but we do suggest to the slave that slavery is nasty, irksome, and foul.

We appeal to the wage-slave to join with us, his fellow wage slaves, in an organisation to remove his chains and ours, for we know that he feels the weight of those fetters, though unconscious of the cause of his pain.

Once the working man does become conscious of the cause of the trouble, and the remedy for all his ills, then no vague ideas of wrong and right, no finely woven abstract theory of capitalist morality will have any weight with him; nor will he stop to impress the opponent with the justice of his appeal.

It will be a question not of appointing an arbitrator to worry over whose ideas are correct, but then, as now, those who have the power to enforce their will shall say what is right, and will compel obedience to their verdict by the force of their intellect and their arms.

That is the only deciding factor to-day. The capitalist class rule because they have the power to rule, and their moral code is enforced upon society. The majority of the people are in favour of the present system, and, strange though it may seem, the workers themselves, the wage-slaves, give their voices in support of the system which enslaves them.

Without this support the capitalist system could not last. Without a willing wage-slave class capitalist society would crumble, and this the capitalists know. They are forced to keep the workers in the dark. They know that once the toilers realise wherein their true interests lie it will be short shift for them and their system. We, on the other hand, knowing the antagonism that exists at all times between the master and the slave, between the robber and the robbed, have but one object as revolutionary wage workers, and that is to show our fellows that their interest lies with ours; that they will benefit only by the establishment of Socialism, which will place them in the position of being masters of the world—masters of themselves.

When men recognise that they can only serve their best interest by serving the best interest of the community, then, being selfish, they will serve the community in order to benefit themselves.

TWEL.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 C. Baggett	A. Barker	S. Blake	H. Cooper
Edmonton Green	7.30 J. Roe	H. Joy	A. L. Cox	J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	A. Bays	G. Seech
Forest Gate (Station)	3.30 A. Wallis	A. Hoskyns	F. Hughes	A. Anderson
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 R. Bruce	H. King	J. Ward	L. Lytton
Ilford (Station)	7.30 J. Le Carte	G. Seech	J. Le Carte	C. Baggett
Kilburn Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. L. Cox	L. Lytton	J. Brown
Maror Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 S. Blake	A. Anderson	H. Joy	A. Wallis
Peckham, 41 Albert Rd.	11.30 L. Lytton	J. Ward	W. Lewington	C. Parker
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 C. Elliott	E. Fairbrother	J. Fitzgerald	H. King
Stoke Newington, Ribley Rd., Balis	8.0 A. Kohn	A. Kohn	A. Kohn	A. Kohn
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. Ward	C. Elliott	J. Myles	C. Elliott
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	12.0 A. L. Cox	C. Baggett	A. Wallis	T. W. Lobb
Waltham Green Church	11.30 H. Cooper	E. Lake	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30 C. Baggett	A. Barker	C. Elliott	H. Joy
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 W. Lewington	A. Wallis	A. W. Pearson	J. Myles
Watford Market Place	7.30 G. Seech	A. Bays	C. Baggett	A. Anderson
	7.30 E. Fairbrother	J. Fitzgerald	A. Barker	J. Le Carte
	8.0 A. Bays	A. Wallis	G. Seech	B. Young
	11.30 B. Young	W. Lewington	R. Bruce	J. Ward
	7.30 F. Hughes	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson
	7.30 J. Myles	W. Thorne	A. Hoskyns	B. Wilks

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30 p.m.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, Palatine Road, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 33 Britania-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
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PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 8a, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Morn 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 94 Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).
TOTTENHAM.—W. Lewington, Sec., 86 Rangemoor Rd. Branch meets Morn. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets all Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King

Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
EAST HAM.—All communications to J. E. Storey 65, Boleyn-rd., Forest Gate, E. Branch meets alternate Morn. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 459, Green St., Upton Park.
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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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